

Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society

The Malay Annals

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The Malay Annals

translated from Raffles MS 18, by

C. C. Brown.

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The Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society dates from 1923. It is the direct successor, by change of title, of the Straits Branch, R.A.S., which was founded in 1878. Its objects are the increase and diffusion of knowledge concerning the territories of the Federation of Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak, North Borneo and Brunei. Membership is open to anyone interested in the Society's activities. The annual subscription is at present \$10 a year, and there is no entrance fee. Members receive free one copy of all journals published for the period for which their membership is valid. In addition they may buy single copies of back numbers at reduced rates. The latter include Sir Richard Winstedt's edition of the Malay text of Raffles MS 18, his History of Malaya, L. A. Mills's History of British Malaya (1824-67), and histories of the majority of the individual states, in addition to other general works. Indexes to all the publications of the old Straits Branch of the Society (1878-1922) and to the first twenty volumes of the present series (1923-47) are available to members at \$2 and \$3.50 each.

Preface

This book has taken toll of the kindness of many whose ungrudging assistance I gratefully acknowledge here, viz. Professors Brough and Tritton, Dr. C. Hooykaas and Mr. D. Cowan of this School: Messrs. J. E. Kempe and J. V. Mills, formerly of the Malayan Civil Service: Haji Zainal-'Abidin, formerly Lecturer in Malay at this School and Inche' Muhammad Yunus Maris, a pupil of mine here: last, and patently not least, Sir Richard Winstedt, who has read through the commentary and the introduction, corrected errors and suggested improvements and genially endured during the past two years almost innumerable demands from me on his time and patience. It is he of course who should have written this book: my own production can only say to him *quod spiro et placeo, si placeo, tuum est*.

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Introduction

For this translation I have used the text¹ (Raffles M.S. 18, Library of Royal Asiatic Society, London) edited by Sir Richard Winstedt (*JMBRAS*, 16, pt 3, 1938). *Ne sutor supra crepidam*: and what might be called the external side of the *Sĕjarah Mĕlayu* has been exhaustively dealt with by Sir Richard Winstedt, whether in regard to the date, authorship and texts (see pp. 27-41 of this text), the subject matter (see his *The Malays*, pp. 150-1 and his *Malay Literature*, pp. 106-109) or the history of the period concerned (see ch. III of his *History of Malaya*). Dr. W. Linehan too has contributed (*JMBRAS*, 20 pt 2, 1947) an important study on the Introduction. It would have been an impertinence for me to venture into this historians' field.

But for the student of the Malay language there is need of an English translation, with textual notes, of what is generally agreed to be the finest literary work in Malay. For, superbly though it is written, this the earliest and unique text is by no means free from obscurities, sometimes but not always caused by the vagaries of its copyist: and the MS, though a model of Malay calligraphy, is often not legible with certainty (Sir Richard Winstedt's romanization has a few errors here and there but as a whole is wonderfully accurate). The reader is accordingly confronted with a fair number of difficulties which I have done my best to solve (not always, I fear, with success) after comparing the romanization throughout with the MS and with the Shellabear text². My translation follows the original closely, for the benefit of the student. It is not easy to find a suitable English style for the translation, for though in many descriptive passages there is an archaic flavour which modern English cannot reproduce, the conversations recorded are often so modern in phrasing that they can only be rendered in modern, colloquial English. I have concerned myself almost entirely with what the text actually says, leaving the historical side to the experts. For such few of my notes as have a historical bearing I am indebted to Sir Richard Winstedt or other scholars: I would cite Appendix B particularly as such a note.

An outline of the contents of Raffles MS. 18 is given in pp. 18-26 of Winstedt's text, and in the translation I have given a synopsis of each chapter. Here I give some impressions of the work as a whole.

The work is generally known as the *Sĕjarah Mĕlayu*, but this description is not found either in this or the Shellabear text: and 'Malay Annals' is a popular mistranslation. For *Sĕjarah* means 'genealogical tree' and the royal command to the author

1. Hereinafter referred to as 'this text'. Page references in this Introduction, and in the Commentary beginning on page 205 below, are to this text, as edited by Sir Richard Winstedt.
2. Malay Literature Series, 9: 1909 (Pt. I), 1930 (Pt. II).

was (p. 42, 1.20) 'to write a story (setting out) the descent of Malay Rajas with their customary ceremonial'. And 'he wrote this story as he received it from his grandfather and his father, assembling in it the tales told by men of bygone days, for the greater pleasure of his lord the king' (p. 42, 1.33). The work is in fact a collection of stories about rulers and their courts, not only about Malay Rajas (including the rulers of states in Sumatra) but also about rulers in S. India, China, Indo-China, Siam and Java. There are no less than twenty-eight Sultans mentioned in the *Sējārah Mēlayu*, to say nothing of Rajas and Maharajas who were not Sultans: and little attempt is made to connect one story historically with another, each chapter merely beginning "Here now is a story of. . . ."

As the author was writing 'for the greater pleasure' of a Sultan of Malacca, it is to be expected that his central theme would be, as it is, the Greatness of Malacca, its rulers and chiefs, and the Superiority of the 'men of Malacca' over all others. The stages in the advance of Malacca to prosperity and importance are successively recorded (pp. 88, 125, 159 and 181), the final description being that d'Albuquerque 'seeing how great was Malacca was inflamed with desire to possess it' (p. 182, 1.10, see note on *ingin mēlihat*). This rise to greatness postulated excellence in rulers, chiefs and people. The author pays tribute to the 'justice' of Sultan Muhammad (p. 88, 1.17), to the 'noble character, justice and humaneness' of Sultan Muzaffar (p. 92, 1.37) and to the 'justice, humaneness and good looks (!)' of Sultan Mansur (p. 100, 1.35). He is however no chartered eulogist of royalty. Sultan Ala'u'd-din is merely credited with great physical strength (p. 137, 1.44) which he uses to good effect in police measures (p. 140, 1.13) and all that the writer has explicitly to say in praise of Sultan Mahmud to whom some 65 pages of the *Sējārah Mēlayu* are devoted, is that he was exceptionally well-built (p. 150, 1.40)!

It is of the chiefs, especially the Bēndaharas, that the author has most to say. Beginning with Bēndahara Tun Pērpateh Pērmuka Bērjajar who when he was giving an audience would only rise from his seat for an heir-apparent to the throne (p. 62, 1.7) we come presently to Bēndahara Sriwa Raja whose devotion to the throne was such that he took poison because he *thought* he had incurred the royal displeasure (p. 93): then to Bēndahara Paduka Raja who was 'accounted as one of the three outstanding men of his time' (p. 96, 1.30): and then to Bēndahara Sri Maharaja, 'the grandest of all the Bēndaharas' (p. 1160, 1.45), whose fame abroad was such that 'the masters of ships from the regions above the wind prayed for a safe voyage to Malacca and Bēndahara Sri Maharaja' (p. 160, 1.4); and whose greatness as a leader was rated so highly by the Portuguese commander that he reported to d'Albuquerque that 'Malacca would never be taken in the lifetime of Bēndahara Sri Maharaja' (p. 182, 1.35). He was a great dandy

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(p. 160, 1.29) and enormously wealthy, thanks to 'invariable success in his business enterprises' (p. 184, 1.5). But he never 'shewed' his beautiful daughter to Sultan Mahmud (p. 183), 1.36) and this distrust of his royal master cost him his life (p. 186, 1.40).

Loyalty to Malay rulers was traditional. After describing in detail (p. 57) a pact between rulers and ruled that was copied from Indian practice the writer gives example after example of Malaya subjects' faithfulness to this pact of loyalty: such are, among others, Bëndahara Paduka Raja after the murder of his son (p. 125); Tun Bayajit, an injured husband (p. 154); and Bëndahara Sri Maharaja (p. 187).

It is in the Oriental tradition that the author admires especially the cunning (*chërdek*) of the people of Malaya. Time after time the 'men of Malacca' are too clever for the foreigner. In the stories about China (pp. 116-123) the Malacca envoys succeed by a trick in doing what no Chinese could do, viz. see the face of the Lord of Heaven (p. 118, 1.6). In Java, when Sultan Mansur goes to Majapahit as suitor for the hand of the Batarā's daughter (p. 104), so effectively do the 'men of Malacca' turn the tables on the Batarā who had persistently tried to make them look foolish that he has to admit their superiority (p. 109, 1.3). Every encounter between Siam and Malacca is a triumph for the quick wits of the Malays. Bëndahara Paduka Raja's ruse scares the invading Siamese into retreat (p. 97); and when, later, Malay envoys sent to Siam to propose a truce are roped in by the Siamese for an attack on a neighbouring state and are inhospitably put in the 'toughest' sector, Tun Tēlanai invents an excellent reason for their transfer to another part of the line (p. 99). In India Hang Nadim is too clever for the Kalinga designers of fabrics (pp. 165-7): and in Pahang the unlucky Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jamal is so deeply humiliated by successive triumphs of Malacca ingenuity at his expense that he abdicates in chagrin (pp. 168-176). Even the foreign missionaries of Islam look foolish when they encounter Malays: in Pasai, Tun Makhdum Mua has to be put right in his theology by his own pupil (p. 128): the egregious Makhdum Sadar Jahan is badly scored off by the Sri Rama in his cups (p. 177) and by his pupil Tun Mai Ulat Bulu (p. 178), and we find him shewing more discretion than valour in the battle for Malacca (p. 191).

The artistry which the writer shews in his gentle digs at the foreigner (*gunting makan di-hujung*) characterizes the whole work. He has his dull moments. The literary conventions of his time demanded that every army or fleet should be 'in numbers past counting' (even when the population of Malacca is stated to be 90,000, p. 180, 1.31 or possibly 190,000 as on p. 187, 1.39, the city sends out a fleet against Legur described as *tiada tērbilang lagi banyak-nya*); every girl must be of peerless beauty (there is a glorious exception in the case of Tun Trang who is merely described as 'quite a pretty girl', p. 183, 1.44); and no little space

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is devoted to the genealogies of persons whose historical importance is infinitesimal. But on the other side of the account are to be set passages which for sheer narrative power will stand comparison with any literature that I know. Such are the exquisite story of Wan Empok and Wan Malini (pp. 54-56); the vivid tale of the taking of Tun Teja (pp. 169-173); the description of the coming of the Portuguese to Malacca ('the white Bengalis' as the Malacca people called them) pp. 181-2; and the dramatic recital of the events leading up to the execution of Bëndahara Sri Maharaja (pp. 182-7). Malays are more often gay than grave, but there is true pathos in the death of Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur and the unforgettable cry of his faithful minister from his grave *Ka-mana pula baginda pergi? Baik-lah kita di-sini* (p. 79); in the picture of the captive Maharaja Sura and his favourite elephant (p. 121); in the description of the eve of the fall of Malacca (p. 191); and even in moody Sultan Mahmud's parting from his favourite daughter (p. 209).

It is perhaps in pure characterization that the writer excels — in his little sketches of personality such as the Sri Bija 'diraja's combination of sport with duty (p. 119), the fopperies of Tun 'Abdul (p. 122), the ways of the Sriwa Raja (pp. 152-6), Hang Hussain Chengang's defiance of wedding etiquette (p. 157), the passion of the womenfolk for Raja Zainal-'Abidin (p. 158), the letter to Pasai (p. 178), the 'portrait of a busy man' (p. 181, 1.10), Bëndahara Sri Maharaja's game with the children of his household (p. 184), Tun Bayazid's tribute to his father's 'sense of colour' (p. 189), the faithful Sang Sura (pp. 189-90) and Sultan Husain of Haru's impressions of his visit to Sultan Mahmud in exile (p. 210).

These vignettes owe not a little of their brilliance to the language in which the author is writing. Of Malay it has been said³ "As a tongue which is capable of expressing, with admirable terseness, the most minute shades of difference between every physical action, and between many states of feeling... Malay has probably few rivals." The truth of this dictum is attested on almost every page of the *Sējarah Mēlayu*. For lucidity combined with extreme economy of language such passages as those describing an army on the march (p. 51, 11. 23-36), the shaving of a child's head with an adze (p. 63, 11. 17-24), the murder of Tun Bēsar (pp. 124-5), the eccentricities of the Sriwa Raja (p. 153, 11. 1-13) and the dandyism of Bëndahara Sri Maharaja (p. 160, 11. 29-39) would be hard to beat.

To particular idioms and graces of this model of Malay writing I have tried *apis Matinae more modoque* to do justice in the commentary. I conclude this introduction with a general impression.

In the *Sējarah Mēlayu* there is not yet that uniformity in the use of the pronouns of the first and second persons which became

3. Clifford & Swettenham, Malay Dictionary, 1894.

a literary convention in the next century. A Raja generally speaks of himself as *kita*, but often, even when speaking to major chiefs, he uses the familiar *aku* (e.g. p. 149, p. 149), 1.32) and there are instances (e.g. p. 214, 1.4) in which he uses two different pronouns for "I" in the same sentence! What he will use for "you" is unpredictable: possibly the title of the person addressed or some such term as *tuan-tuan sakalian*, but equally possibly the familiar *kamu*. Subjects speaking to Rajas generally use *patek* from p. 57 onwards (see p. 57, 1.12): among themselves it may be *hamba*, *beta* or *sahaya* without any perceptible distinction, and one cannot even guess what equivalent of the second person will be employed.

There is the same looseness in the use of pronouns in the Malay of the East Coast to-day (see my Kelantan⁴ Malay, pp. 5-6 and my Trengganu⁵ Malay, p. 2): and this is one of several strong resemblances that I find between the Malay of the *Sĕjarah Mĕlayu* and that of Kelantan and Trengganu. The spelling in the MS is so far from consistent (see, e.g., note on *mĕngĕmpong* on p. 48, 1.38) that it would be rash to dogmatize from the forms of a few words. It is however noteworthy that here and there in the MS words do appear in a form more recognizable on the East than on the West coast of Malaya to-day. Such are *ngĕbala* (p. 77, 1.2: see note), *mĕnjĕput* (p. 79, 1.11), *tĕtapan* (p. 85, 1.24), *tĕpayan* and *makok* (p. 130, 1.43), *pĕdekar* (p. 160, 1.10): see also note on *pĕdikir* on p. 105, 1.27), *kubau* (p. 119, 1.35: see note), *hujang* (p. 126, 1.30: see note) and *gamang* (p. 113, 1.41: see note). It is true that most of them appear elsewhere in the text in normal Riau-Johor form, but the spellings noted above may well represent lapses by the writer or copyist into writing as he spoke. There are other pointers in the same direction. The words *bĕrburu atau* on p. 50, 1.39 appear in the MS as *بربوة راتو* which might stand for *bĕrbuat ratau*, the latter word being well known on the East Coast as meaning 'ground' for any sport. On p. 108, 1.41 we find *biar-nya bĕrmĕin*, which if written *biar nya bĕrmĕin* would be good Kelantan or Trengganu Malay of the present day (see my Kelantan Malay, p. 6). The *di-mana tuan hamba tahu?* so common in the *Sĕjarah Mĕlayu* is the *mu tahu dĕmana* ('how do you know?') of current Kelantan Malay: and the conversation between Bĕndahara Sri Maharaja and the children on p. 184, 11. 6.30 has (in this text, though not in Shellabear) the *ĕmboh* now only heard on the East Coast. One swallow does not make a summer: but I feel that there is some ground for thinking that were the writer, or at any rate the copyist, to return to earth, it is on the East Coast of the Malay Peninsula that he would find his *patrius sermo*.

4. Papers on Malay Subjects (Second Series), Singapore, 1927.

5. JMBRAS, 13, Pt 3, 1935.

The 'Malay Annals'

Chapter I

A preface in praise of Allah, the Prophet and his Companions. How the history came to be written. The story of Raja Iskandar. He defeats Raja Kida Hindi and marries his daughter, by whom he has a son, Raja Aristun Shah. When Raja Kida Hindi dies, he is succeeded by Raja Aristun Shah. A list of his successors down to Raja Suran Padshah.

(Shellabear, chapter I)

- [42]* In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate. Praise be to God, the Lord of all worlds; and prayers and peace be to the Apostle of God (may God bless him and give him peace) and to all his Companions likewise. After this praise to God and a prayer to the Apostle of God (may God bless him and give him peace) — Now in the year 1021, in a *dul al-awal* year on the 12th of the month *Rabi'u'l-awal*, on Sunday, at the time of the forenoon prayer, in the reign of Sultan Ala'u'd-din Ri'ayat Shah, shadow of God upon earth, while he had a settlement at Pasir Raja — at that time there came the Sri Narawangsa, whose name was Tun Bambang, son of the Sri Agar Raja of Petani, with a command from the Ruler in the Lower Reaches *fa'innahu sharf al-makani w'al-zamani* (of a truth is he the glory of his place and time) *waziru majalisi ahli'l-imani* (ornament of the^{†1} gatherings of the faithful) *wa nawwara madajat al-ta'at wa'l-ihsan* (and he sheddeth lustre on the steps of loyalty and virtue) *zayyada fadlah hu wa'l-imtinan* (may God Almighty ever increase his excellence and charity) *wa abbada 'adlahu fi sa'iri 'l-buldan* (and establish him for all time with justice over all countries). And the behest of his Highness was thus:— "It is my wish that the Treasury^{†1a} shall make a chronicle setting forth the genealogy^{†2} of the Malay Rajas and the ceremonial of their courts, for the information of my descendants who come after me, that they may be conversant with the history and derive profit therefrom. When *fakir alladi murakkabun 'ala jahlin f'al-taksir* (that is to say, your humble servant who is duly conscious of his weakness and the limitations of his knowledge) *alladi murakkab 'ala jahiliah* (that is to say, mounted as he is on the steed of his ignorance)—when he heard the word of his Highness, he took the command upon his head and his limbs were bowed beneath the weight of it. Then did he bestir himself to diligence, at the same time praying for help from God, the Creator of the Universe, and from His Prophet, the chiefest of mankind. And he wrote this chronicle as he received it from his father and his forebears, assembling in it all the stories of the men of bygone days, for the greater pleasure of his lord the King. And he gave

*Marginal numbers in square brackets refer to the page number in the Malay text edited by Sir Richard Winstedt (JMBRAS, 16, pt. 3, 1938).

[42—43] to it the name of *Sulalatu's-Salatina*, that is to say, the genealogy of kings. Let not him who reads it concern himself with it to the exclusion of all else: for thus saith the Prophet (may God bless him and give him peace) *tafakkaru fi ala'i 'Llahi wa la tafakkaru fi dzati 'Llahi* that is to say, concern thyself with the Majesty of God and trouble not thy mind over the Essence of God. Now this is how the story begins according to the account†³ we have received:—

When Raja Iskandar, the Two-Horned, son of Raja Darab, a Roman of the country of Macedonia, set out to visit the East, he came to the frontier of India. Now there was a certain Raja, by name Raja Kida Hindi, whose kingdom was so vast that he held sway over half of all India. When he heard of the coming of Raja Iskandar he bade his chief minister assemble his forces and the princes who were his vassals. And when they were gathered together Raja Kida Hindi went out to repel†⁴ Raja Iskandar. And the two armies met and battle was joined, as is related in the *Hikayat Iskandar*. And Raja Kida Hindi was defeated by Raja Iskandar and was captured alive, whereupon Raja Iskandar ordered him to accept the True Faith. And he did†⁵ so and became a Muhammadan, embracing the religion of Abraham, the Chosen Friend of God (on him be peace). Raja Iskandar then presented him with robes†⁶ of honour, raiment such as he wore himself†⁷ and bade him return to his own country.

Now Raja Kida Hindi had a daughter, *Shahru'l-Bariyah* by name, whose beauty was such that she had no peer at that time: brilliant as the light of the sun was the light of her countenance, and she was endowed moreover with great wisdom and understanding. Calling his chief minister to a place where they would be alone, Raja Kida Hindi said to him, "I would have you know that I have called you to ask for your advice. This daughter of mine who hath no peer among the princesses of this time—it is my purpose to offer her to Raja Iskandar. What think you?" And the chief minister answered,†⁸ "What your Highness proposes is entirely right and proper." Raja Kida Hindi then said to his chief minister, "So be it, please God. To-morrow you go to Nabi Khidlr and tell him of the matter." So the minister went to Nabi Khidlr, and when he had gone, Raja Kida Hindi gave orders for the name of Raja Iskandar to be inscribed on the die of his coins and on his pennons. And when the minister came to Nabi Khidlr he gave him greeting, and the greeting was returned by Nabi Khidlr, who bade him be seated. Then said the chief minister to Nabi Khidlr, "I would have you know, sir, that the Raja whom I serve entertains

The notes are printed together on pages 205 et seq., at the end of the text.

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[43—45] for Raja Iskandar such affection as no words of mine can describe. And he has a daughter of whom it may be said that from East to West no princess can rival her. In beauty, intelligence and disposition she has no equal:†⁹ and it is his desire to offer her to be the consort of Raja Iskandar.” History then relates that Nabi Khidlr went forthwith to Raja Iskandar and related the matter to him. Raja Iskandar signified his assent; whereafter he went forth to the hall of audience,†¹⁰ where he gave audience to princes, divines and theologians, chiefs, warriors and men of valour, gathered around the throne, whilst behind the king were his chosen retainers and trusted henchmen. Raja Kida Hindi too was present before the king, seated on a jewelled chair of gold. After all had been seated awhile, Nabi Khidlr (on him be peace) rose to his feet, and after invoking the name of God Almighty and asking for the blessing of the Prophet Abraham, the Chosen Friend of God, and all the prophets of ancient times, he read the marriage formula for Raja Iskandar, making a sign to Raja Kida Hindi where the words related to him. Thus said Nabi Khidlr, “Be it known to you, Raja Kida Hindi, that it is to our Raja here present that Almighty God has delivered the lordship over the whole earth from East to West, from North to South. Now it has come to his knowledge†¹¹ that you have a daughter of surpassing beauty, and he would fain ask that you, Raja Kida Hindi, should regard him favourably and accept him as your son-in-law, so that your descendants may be connected with the descendants of Raja Iskandar without a break until the Day of Judgment. What say you? Do you assent or not?” History then relates that when Raja Kida Hindi heard the words of Nabi Khidlr, he rose from his chair and stood upon the ground: whereupon he did obeisance to Raja Iskandar and said, “Be it known to your Highness and to all here present, by the Prophet of God, that I am in very truth the slave of Raja Iskandar, as are all my children†¹²: we are not even as the followers here that serve his needs. Verily it is Nabi Khidlr who is guardian for myself and for my daughter, Princess Shahrul-Bariyah.” When Nabi Khidlr heard these words of Raja Hindi, he turned towards Raja Iskandar and said, “Verily have (?)†¹³ I given Princess Shahrul-Bariyah in marriage to Raja Iskandar, the dowry†^{13a} that shall be paid by him to be three hundred thousand dinar. Do you consent?” And when Raja Iskandar signified his consent, the daughter of Raja Kida Hindi was duly wedded by Nabi Khidlr to Raja Iskandar following the ordinance of the Prophet Abraham (the Chosen Friend of God) in the presence of all those aforesaid. Then rose princes, chiefs, ministers,†¹⁴ warchiefs†^{14a}, theologians, divines and jurists, and strewed gold, silver, gems and precious stones of every kind at the feet of Raja Iskandar, until gold and precious stones stood before him in heaps like so many anthills. All this treasure was distributed as alms to the poor and needy.

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When night fell, Raja Kida Hindi brought his daughter to Raja Iskandar with all that she possessed, together with manifold precious stones that were heirlooms from her forebears, all of which Raja Kida Hindi made over to her for her use¹⁵. And that night Raja Iskandar ascended the bridal dais: and he was astonished at the beauty of Princess Shahru'l-Bariyah which surpassed all description. On the following day Raja Iskandar gave Princess Shahru'l-Bariyah robes of honour complete with royal insignia and bestowed upon her jewellery past all counting, whilst to the princes he gave robes of honour with ornaments of rich distinction, all of them of gold studded with every sort of gem, the content of three treasure chests. And to Raja Kida Hindi he gave robes of honour¹⁶ (together with) a hundred golden caskets filled with precious stones and rich gems, and a hundred picked horses with trappings of gold studded with every sort of gem, so that all beholders were astonished to look upon them.

Raja Iskandar then stayed there for ten days, and on the eleventh day he departed with traditional ceremony taking with him the princess, daughter of Raja Kida Hindi. He then set forth for the East, as is related in the famous history. After a time he returned from his visit to the East and stopped on his way in India, where Raja Kida Hindi went out to meet him, bearing presents of precious stones and rare jewels. Raja Hindi then told Raja Iskandar how sorely he had missed him and of his devotion to him which no words could describe. He told him too how sorely he had missed his daughter, Princess Shahru'l-Bariyah, and asked that Raja Iskandar would restore her to him. Raja Iskandar then graciously gave Princess Shahru'l-Bariyah back to her father, at the same time bestowing upon her a hundred silken robes of honour together with gold, silver and precious stones, and magnificent gems without number. Raja Kida Hindi then did obeisance to Raja Iskandar, who presented him with a hundred silken robes of honour that he had himself worn. Thereupon the signal-drum was beaten and the trumpet blown, betokening Raja Iskandar's departure. And Raja Iskandar took his departure, with traditional ceremony, on his mission to bring under his suzerainty all Rajas who had not yet acknowledged it, as history relates. God knoweth the truth. To Him do we return.

Now, according to the account we have received, Princess Shahru'l-Bariyah, daughter of Raja Kida Hindi, was with child by Raja Iskandar, but neither did Raja Iskandar know of this nor was the Princess herself aware of her pregnancy. But when a month had passed after her return to her father, she realised that she was with child by Raja Iskandar as she did not menstruate. And she informed her father, saying, "I would have

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【45—47】 you know, father, that I have had no menses now for two months.” When Raja Kida Hindi heard the words of his daughter, he was delighted that she was with child by Raja Iskandar and he lavished due care upon her. And when the time was accomplished, Princess Shahru’l-Bariyah brought forth a son. And Raja Kida Hindi gave to his grandson the name Raja Aristun Shah (Son of a Great King) and great was his affection for the child. In due course Aristun Shah grew up to be an exceedingly handsome youth, the image†¹⁷ of his father, Raja Iskandar Dzu’l-Karnain, and was betrothed by Raja Kida Hindi to the daughter of the Raja of Turkistan. By her Raja Aristun Shah had a son whom he called Raja Aftas.

Forty-five years after the return of Raja Iskandar to Macedonia, Raja Kida Hindi returned to God’s mercy, and was succeeded as ruler of India by his grandson, Raja Aristun, who reigned three hundred and fifty-five years before he left this perishable world to go to the world that abideth. He was succeeded by his son Raja Aftas, who ruled over India for one hundred and twenty years and on his death was succeeded by Raja Askainat, who reigned for three years. On the death of Raja Askainat the throne passed to Raja Kadas, who reigned for twelve years and was succeeded on his death by his younger brother Raja Amtabus who reigned for thirteen years. When he died, Raja Heruwaskainan came to the throne and reigned for thirty years. On his death Raja Arahadaskainat came to the throne and reigned for nine years, to be succeeded on his death by Raja Gudarz Kuhan, son of Raja Amtabus, who reigned for seventy years. On his death Raja Nikabus Ashkabus came to the throne, and he ruled for forty years. After that Raja Ardashir-i Papagan, son of Raja Gudarz Kuhan, came to the throne. He married a daughter of Raja Nushirwan ‘Adil, Raja of East and West, and by her he had a son named Derma Nus. After he had attained the age of a hundred Raja Ardashir-i Papagan died and was succeeded by his son Deria (sic) Nus who reigned for ninety years and was succeeded by Raja Kestah. He reigned for four months and was succeeded on his death by Raja Ramji, who reigned for twenty-two years and nine months. When he died, Raja Shah Tersî became king. He was the son of Raja Derma Nus and reigned for twenty-eight years, to be succeeded on his death by Raja Teja who reigned for thirty years. On his death Raja Ajakar came to the throne and reigned for ten years. When he died Raja Hurmizd, son of Raja Shahi Narsi (Tersî?), became king and reigned for one hundred and twenty-six years. After that Raja Yazdigird came to the throne and reigned for sixty-two years and four months, to be succeeded on his death by Raja Kupi Kudar, who reigned for sixty-three years. The next king was Raja Narsi Biradarash, son of Raja Zimrut, grandson of Raja Shah Narsi (Tersî?), great-

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[47—48] grandson of Raja Deria (Derma) Nus, great-great-grandson of Raja Ardashir-i Papagan, who was the son of Raja Gudarz Kuhan, grandson of Raja Amtabus, great grandson of Raja Sabur, great-great-grandson of Raja Aftus, the son of Raja Aristun Shah who was the son of Raja Iskandar Dzu'l-Karnain.

Narsi Baradar-ash married a daughter of Raja Amdan Nagara, by whom he had two sons Kudar Shah Jahan and Raja Suran Padshah, both of them exceedingly handsome.

God knoweth the truth: to Him do we return.

Chapter II

The story of Raja Shulan of Nagapatam. He conquers all countries until he comes to Gangga Nagara, where Raja Linggi Shah Johan resists him but finally is slain. Raja Shulan marries Raja Linggi Shah Johan's daughter, Onang Kiu, then returns to India and founds Bija Nagara. By Onang Kiu he has a daughter, Chendana Wasis, whom he marries to Raja Suran Padshah, grandson of Raja Iskandar. On his death Raja Shulan is succeeded by Raja Chulan, who presently decides to invade China and gets as far as Temasek (Singapura). The ruse of the Chinese to discourage this venture. Raja Chulan's descent into the sea and his marriage with the daughter of Raja Aftabu'l-Ardl. His return to Kalinga and marriage with the daughter of Raja Kudar, ruler of Hindustan. He dies and is succeeded by his son, Adirama Raja Mudaliar, whose descendants still rule Bija Nagara.

(Shellabear, chapter I)

Here now^{†18} is the story of a certain city in the realm of Kalinga: its name was Nagapatam and the ruler of this city, whose name was Raja Shulan^{†19}, was according to some accounts a descendant of Raja Nushirwan 'Adil, son of Raja Kobad Shahriar, Raja of the East and the West. Whether that is so or not is known only to Almighty God. However that may be, this Raja Shulan was a mighty Raja, to whom all the Rajas of Sind and India and all the Rajas of the regions below the wind were subject.

Once upon a time Raja Shulan commanded that his countless armies be assembled, and the Rajas from every part of the country gathered with their men in numbers past counting together with their arms and fighting gear. When the whole host was complete, Raja Shulan set forth, his purpose being to reduce all cities of East and West to subjection to him: and with him went the whole countless host. So great was this army on the march that forests became treeless plains, hills were laid low and rocks sent rolling over and over. Every city in Raja Shulan's path fell to him, until he came to a city called Gangga Shah Nagara, the Raja of which was called Raja Linggi Shah. Now this city stood on a hill: and though from the

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[48—49] front it appeared to stand at a great height, it was quite low at the back. Its fort still stands to this day, at Dinding on the other side of the Perak river. When Raja Linggi Shah Johan heard of the approach of Raja Shulan, he gave orders for his forces to be assembled, the gates of the fort to be shut, the moat to be filled with water and the fortifications to be manned. Raja Shulan's army advance to surround^{†20} the fort of Raja Linggi Shah Johan, but so stout was the defence that his men could make no headway. When he saw this, Raja Shulan mounted an elephant that was in season and moved in to the attack: and though the men of the garrison rained spears and arrows upon him, he heeded them not and forced his way up to the gate of the fort of Gangga Nagara. He struck the gate of the fort with his mace and it crashed to the ground, whereupon he and his war-chiefs entered the fort. When Raja Linggi Shah Johan saw Raja Shulan approaching, he stood up and seizing his bow shot an arrow, which struck Raja Shulan's elephant above the base of the trunk. The elephant fell sprawling, but Raja Shulan leapt from his back and drawing his sword slashed at Raja Linggi Shah Johan, severing his neck with the blow, so that his head toppled to the earth and he was killed.

When the men of Gangga Nagara saw that their Raja was dead, they broke and fled. After the fall of Gangga Nagara Raja Shulan went forward again until in due course he reached the frontier of Lenggui. In ancient times Lenggui was a great city with its blackstone^{†21} fort which still exists. The original name of the place was Glang Gui, which means 'treasure chest of jewels'; but through our inability to pronounce the name properly it has been corrupted into 'Lenggui'. The Raja's name was Raja Chulin: he was a mighty king and all princes of lands below the wind were subject to him.

When Raja Chulin heard of the approach of Raja Shulan, he gave orders for his forces to be assembled and for the princes who were his vassals to be summoned. When all had foregathered, Raja Chulin set out to repel Raja Shulan. His army was as a sea at full tide, the elephants and horses were like islands in the sea, the banners and pennons were like a forest, the weapons were serried row upon row and the hair-pendants on the javelins looked like a field of *lalang** in blossom. When they had advanced some ten miles, the army of Raja Shulan was encountered and battle was joined. The din was unimaginable. Those who^{†21a} had elephants pitted them against those of their adversaries, those who had horses made them bite the foe's horses, those who had bows plucked the strings of their bows, those who had lances thrust with their lances, those who had spears thrust with their spears and those who had swords

* Long-grass (*Imperata cylindrica*)

[49—50] hacked with their swords. Weapons fell thick and fast like heavy rain. Even had it thundered in the heavens the sound would not have been heard for the battle cries of the warriors and only the clash of weapon upon weapon would have been heard. So thick was the dust of conflict that the light of day was darkened as by an eclipse of the sun, and such was the confusion that friend could not be told from foe. Attackers were themselves attacked, here and there men even stabbed their own friends. The dead lay thick on either side, men, elephants and horses. The earth was a sea of blood. And when the cloud of dust lifted, there they were still fighting desperately, neither side yielding an inch. Raja Chulin then brought in his elephant to the attack and charged the countless host of Raja Shulan, leaving a trail of heaped corpses wherever he charged. Such was the carnage in their ranks that the men of Kalinga gave ground. When he saw this, Raja Shulan rushed†²² into the fray, hurling a challenge (?) at Raja Chulin. He was mounted on an elephant of prodigious size that was moreover in season and stood eight cubits at the shoulder. But the elephant of Raja Chulin was no coward, and the two elephants met and fought, with a crash like that of a thunderbolt splitting a hill, while the clash of tusk on tusk sounded like peal on peal of thunder. Neither elephant would own defeat. And Raja Chulin stood up on his elephant poising his spear which he then hurled at Raja Shulan: and it passed clean through the howdah, projecting a finger span on the far side of it. Whereupon Raja Shulan shot an arrow and transfixed Raja Chulin through the chest so that he fell from his elephant and died. And when the men of Raja Chulin saw that he had been killed, they all of them broke and fled, hotly pursued by the men of Kalinga who slew any that fell into their hands. The men of Kalinga then entered the fort of Klenggiu (?Glang Gui) and sacked it, gaining more booty†²³ than man could count. Now Raja Chulin had a very beautiful daughter called Onang Kiu. She was offered to Raja Shulan, who took her as consort. He then returned crowned with victory, and when he reached Kalinga he built himself a very great city. Its fort was of black stone with walls seven fathoms thick and nine fathoms high, and so skilled were the masons that not an interstice was to be seen, it was as though the masonry had been poured into place. The gate was of hammered gold, with studs of gold bejewelled. As for the extent of the fort, there were seven mountains†²⁴ within its compass; and in the midst of the city was a lake, so large that it looked like a sea and if an elephant stood on the far shore it could not be seen from the near shore. Into this lake the king released fish of every sort, and in the middle of it stood an island of great height, over which vapour constantly hovered as though the summit was wrapped in dewy mist. And on this island he planted trees†²⁵ of all kinds, and every sort of flower and fruit-tree that exists

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[50—51] in this world was to be found there. It was to this island that the king resorted for pleasure. And by the side of this island he made a great forest into which he released wild beasts of every kind; and when he wished go hunting†²⁶ or to noose elephants, it was to this forest that he went. When the city was completed, Raja Shulan gave it the name of Bija-nagara. The city exists to this day in the country of Kalinga. Such is the history of Raja Shulan that were I to relate the whole of it the book would be as thick as the Story of Hamzah†²⁷.

In the course of time Raja Shulan had a child by Princess Onang Kiu, a daughter whose beauty was such that she had no equal in those times. The king gave to her the name of Princess Chendani Wasis. And when she was full grown, her hand in marriage was sought by Raja Narsi biradar-ash for his son Raja Suran Padshah. Raja Shulan consented and Princess Chendani Wasis was married to Raja Suran Padshah. After Raja Suran Padshah had been married for some time with Princess Chendani Wasis he had three children by her; Raja Jiran, who became ruler of Chendragiri Nagara; Raja Chulan, who was adopted by his grandparent Sutan Raja; and Raja Pandayan, who became ruler of Negapatam. In the course of time Raja Shulan died and was succeeded on the throne by his grandson, Raja Chulan. He reigned in the stead of his grandfather at Bajaya Nagara, and his kingdom was even greater than his grandfather's, for the whole of India and Sind was subject to him and every prince of East and West was his vassal. It was only China that refused to acknowledge his suzerainty. He took steps therefore to invade China and gave orders that all his forces be assembled. They came together from every part of the country, in numbers past counting, and with them came vassal princes, to the number of twelve hundred, leading their armies. When all were assembled, Raja Chulan set forth to conquer the realm of China: and so vast was his army on the march that boundless tracts of forest became treeless plains, the earth rocked as though convulsed by an earthquake, mountains were moved and their summits came toppling down: even the highest hills were brought low and mighty rivers ran dry and became land. Six months passed and the tail of the column had not yet appeared; the gleam of the weapons was so brilliant that dark nights became as bright as though there were a full moon shining in fine weather; and thunder in the heavens could not have been heard for the din and uproar of the advancing host.

After a time they came to Temasek. And news reached China that "Raja Chulan is going to invade our country, with an army that no man can number, and is already at Temasek." This report caused consternation to the Raja of China, and he addressed his ministers and officers, saying, "What think you is our best plan for averting this calamity? For if this Raja

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[51—52] of Kalinga reaches China, assuredly this country of ours will be destroyed.” And the chief minister replied, “We will deliberate upon the matter, Lord of the Earth.” And the Raja of China bade them deliberate. Thereupon the chief minister ordered a ship to be made ready and he had it filled with worn-down, rusty needles. He then collected a number of *kesmak** and *bedarat* and other fruit trees that had fruited and had them planted on board the ship. He chose out also a number of men so old that their teeth had all fallen out and they also were put on board the ship, which he then ordered to sail to Temasek. When the ship reached Temasek, word was brought to Raja Chulan that a ship had arrived from China. And Raja Chulan ordered men of his to go and inquire of the Chinese how far it was from Temasek to China. And they went and asked the men in the ship, who replied, “When we left China we were all of us mere boys barely turned twelve years old, and these fruit trees you see here were planted by us from seed. Now we are old men, our teeth have all fallen out and the trees we planted are bearing fruit: and it is only now that we have arrived here.” And they took several needles and shewed them to the Kalinga men, saying, “These pieces of steel were as thick as a man’s forearm when we left China. See how they are worn down to nothing now! That will give you an idea of how long we have been upon our journey, more years than we can reckon.” When the Kalinga men heard this, they hastened back to inform Raja Chulan and they related to him what they been told. And when Raja Chulan heard their words, he said, “If it is as the Chinese say, China must be a very long way away. When should we ever get there? We had better go home.” And the war-chiefs replied, “What your royal Highness says is very true.”

Now Raja Chulan reflected, “The dry land and all that dwells thereon are known to me, but the sea and all that dwells therein — what might they be like? Were it not better then that I should descend into the sea so that I may know how things are therein?” When he had thus decided, Raja Chulan ordered his craftsmen and artificers to be summoned, and they were commanded to make a glass case that could be closed and opened from within. Thereupon the craftsmen and artificers made a glass case as the king desired and to it they secured a chain of gold. They then brought it to Raja Chulan, who was well pleased with the workmanship and bestowed bounty beyond measure upon the learned men and artificers. He then entered the case, from within which he could see all that was outside, and locked the door from within. The case was then lowered into the sea and sank. And Raja Chulan had the joy†²⁸ of seeing from within the case all the manifold works of God

* *Harpullia confusa*.

† *Zizyphus jujuba*.

[52—54] Almighty. Presently†²⁹ by His will the case sank down to the country called Dika, whereupon Raja Chulan stepped forth from the case and set out to see everything of note†³⁰. Presently he came upon a vast, strongly built city into which he made his way. There he beheld a race of men, the Barsam, so numerous that no man, but only Almighty God, could know how many they were. But of those people only half were Muslims, the rest were unbelievers. And all the inhabitants of the city were filled with astonishment when they beheld Raja Chulan and they marvelled to see how he was adorned. And they took him to their Raja, whose name was Raja Aftabu'l-Ardl. And when Raja Aftabu'l-Ardl beheld Raja Chulan he asked of his servitors, "Who is this man?" And they replied, "He is newly come, your Highness, but whence he comes is not known to us." Raja Aftabu'l-Ardl then asked Raja Chulan, "Who are you and whence are you come hither?" And Raja Chulan answered, "I am come from the world. I am the Raja of all mankind, and my name is Raja Chulan." And Raja Aftabu'l-Ardl was amazed at the words of Raja Chulan and said, "Is there another world than this of ours here?" And Raja Chulan answered, "In truth this universe is manifold, and manifold are the kinds that dwell in it." And when Raja Aftabu'l-Ardl heard the words of Raja Chulan he was astounded and exclaimed, "How perfect is God, the King Omnipotent!" He then took Raja Chulan and seated him upon the throne of sovereignty.

Now Raja Aftabu'l-Ardl had a daughter: the prince's name was Mathabu'l-Bahri, and she was very beautiful. He gave her in marriage to Raja Chulan: and after they had been married for three years, Raja Chulan had three sons. But when he looked upon his three sons, the heart of Raja Chulan was heavy within him and he said, "How will it all end—these three sons of mine living here below the earth? Yet how am I to take them hence?" So he went to Raja Aftabu'l-Ardl and said to him, "When these sons of mine come to manhood, I pray you send them to the earth so that the kingdom of Raja Iskandar Dzu'l-Karnain may not pass away but may continue for all time." And Raja Aftabu'l-Ardl agreed. Raja Chulan then sought permission of Raja Aftabu'l-Ardl to depart and leave the sea to return to the earth, and the king and his consort wept together bitterly. Then Raja Aftabu'l-Ardl gave orders to bring a winged stallion, called the Horse of the River, which he gave to Raja Chulan. And Raja Chulan mounted the steed, which bore him up from out of the sea into the sky. And as the steed travelled over the sea, the subjects of Raja Chulan saw that he who was mounted on the steed was indeed Raja Chulan. His minister therefore got a handsome†³¹ mare and took her to the shore of Bentiri, and when the stallion, Horse of the River, beheld the mare, he came ashore and drew near to her. Raja Chulan then dismount-

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- [54] ed and the stallion went back into the sea. Then said Raja Chulan to his learned men and artificers, "Make for me a token to commemorate my visit to the depths of the sea, and it is my desire that it be a token which shall endure to the Day of Judgment. And let there be recorded upon it the whole history of what I have done so that it may be known and understood by all that come after me." When they heard the command of Raja Chulan, the artificers split a rock in two and they made a record in writing in the Hindustani language. When this was done, Raja Chulan ordered a quantity of precious things—gold, silver, jewels gems and rare stones of every kind—to be put into (the rock chamber?), saying, "There shall come a day when a prince of my line shall possess this treasure, and it is that prince who shall make all lands below the wind subject to him." Thereafter Raja Chulan set forth on his return to Kalinga and when he had reached Bija Nagara he married the daughter of Raja Kudar Shah Jahan, son of Raja Narsi biradar-ash, the Raja of Hindustan. By her he had a son, to whom he gave the name of Adiraja Rama Mudaliar. Raja Chulan then died and was succeeded at Bija Nagara by his son Ariraja Rama Mudaliar. To this day it is the descendants of this Adiraja Rama Mudaliar who rule Biji Nagara.

God knoweth the truth. To Him do we return.

Chapter III

The story of Wan Empok and Wan Malini and the miracles that happened to the rice they had grown on a clearing on Bukit Si-Guntang Mahameru in Palembang. To this hilltop come Bichitram, Paladutani and Nilatanam, princely descendants of Alexander; and they tell Wan Empok and Wan Malini the story of Alexander's marriage with the daughter of Raja Kida Hindi and Raja Chulan's descent into the sea. The ruler of Palembang takes the three young princes to Palembang, whither come rajas of all countries to do homage to them. The eldest of the princes becomes ruler of Minangkabau with the title of Sang Sapurba; the second becomes ruler of Tanjong Pura with the title of Sang Maniaka and the youngest stays at Palembang with Demang Lebar Daun, the ruler, who abdicates in his favour and makes him ruler with the title of Sang Utama. The birth of Bath from foam out of the mouth of a white cow belonging to Wan Empok and Wan Malini. Bath reads a chiri or coronation formula giving Sang Utama the new title of Sri Tri Buana. Sri Tri Buana's thirty-nine brides. He goes to Temasek and founds a city there to which he gives the name of Singapura. After a reign of forty-eight years Sri Tri Buana dies and is buried on Singapore Hill. Succeeded by his son with the title of Paduka Sri Pikrama Wira. Appointments of Bendahara, Perdana Mentri and Temenggong. The growth and fame of the new city of Singapura.

(Shellabear, chapter II, III and IV, but the story differs appreciably from that of this text: see R. O. W's summary on pp. 2 and 3).

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Here now is the story of a city called Palembang in the land of Andelas. It was ruled by Dĕmang Lebar Daun, a descendant of Raja Shulan, and its river was the Muara Tatang. In the upper reaches of the Muara Tatang was a river called the Mĕlayu, and on that river was a hill called Si-Guntang Mahameru. In that region lived two widows, Wan Ēmpok and Wan Malini, and the two of them had planted padi on Bukit Si-Guntang. Much ground had they planted and their padi had thriven beyond words. When the padi was ripe over the whole field†³², it happened that one night Wan Ēmpok and Wan Malini beheld from their house a glow as of fire on Bukit Si-Guntang. And they said, "Can that be the light of fire†³³ that glows†³⁴ yonder? It frightens†³⁵ me." Then said Wan Malini, "Whisht! It may be the gleam of the gem on some great dragon's head!" So Wan Ēmpok and Wan Malini kept quiet in their fear and presently they fell asleep. When day dawned, Wan Ēmpok and Wan Malini arose from their sleep and bathed their faces, and Wan Ēmpok said to Wan Malini, "Come, let us go and see what it was that glowed like fire last night". Wan Malini agreed, and the two of them climbed up Bukit Si-Guntang, where they saw that their padi had golden grain, leaves of silver and stems of gold alloy. And when they saw what had happened to their padi, they said, "This is what we saw last night!" And as they walked along the hill they saw that the crest had turned into gold. According to one tradition it has a colour as of gold to this day. And on this land that had been turned into gold Wan Ēmpok and Wan Malini beheld three youths of great beauty. All three of them were adorned like kings and wore crowns studded with precious stones, and they rode upon white elephants†³⁶. Wan Ēmpok and Wan Malini were lost in wonder and utterly amazed at the sight of these youths who were so handsome, bore themselves with such grace and were so brilliantly adorned. And they thought in their hearts, "Was it perchance because of these three youths that our padi has grain of gold, leaves of silver and stems of gold alloy and that this hilltop has been turned into gold?" And they asked the three youths, "Whence come you, sirs? Are you sons of genies or sons of fairies? For we†³⁷ have long been here without seeing anyone. Until you appeared to-day no human being has visited this place."

And the three youths made answer, "Not from the breed of genies or fairies are we. We are descended from Raja Iskandar Dzu'l-Karnain: of the lineage of Raja Nushirwan, Lord of the East and the West, are we. Our line springs from Raja Sulaiman (upon him be peace): one of us is called Bichitram, one Paludatani and one Nilatanam." Then said Wan Ēmpok and Wan Malini, "If you are of the stock of Raja Iskandar, what brings you here?" And the three youths then told Wan Ēmpok and Wan Malini the story of the marriage of Raja Iskandar with

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[55—56] Raja Kida Hindi's daughter and of the descent of Raja Chulan into the sea. And Wan Empok and Wan Malini said, "What have you to prove the truth of what you say?" And the three youths answered, "These crowns that we wear are the sign: they shew that we are of the stock of Raja Iskandar Dzul'l-Karnain. If you doubt our word, the proof is that because we alighted on this spot your padi has grain of gold, leaves of silver and stems of gold alloy and this hilltop has been turned into gold." And Wan Empok and Wan Malini believed the words of the three young princes, and they were filled with joy and took the three young princes to their house. And the padi was reaped, and Wan Empok and Wan Malini became rich because of their meeting with the princes.

According to the account we have received the city of Palembang which has been mentioned was the same as the Palembang of to-day. Formerly it was a very great city, the like of which was not to be found in the whole country of Andelas. Now when the Raja of Palembang, whose name was Dēmang Lebar Daun, had heard the story of how Wan Empok and Wan Malini had met with princes who had come down from heaven, he went to the house of Wan Empok and Wan Malini to see the princes, whom he then took back with him to the city. And it was noised over the whole country that descendants of Raja Iskandar Dzu'l-Karnain were now in Palembang, having come down from†³⁸ Bukit Si-Guntang Mahameru. Thereupon every ruler from every part of the country came to pay his respects to them. The eldest of the princes was taken†³⁹ by the people of Andelas to their country and was made Raja at Menangkabau, with the title of Sang Sapurba. Thereafter came the people of Tanjong Pura†^{39a} and took the second of the three princes to Tanjong Pura where they made him Raja with the title of Sang Maniaka, whilst the youngest of the three princes remained at Palembang with Dēmang Lebar Daun, who made him Raja of Palembang with the title of Sang Utama. Dēmang Lebar Daun thereupon abdicated and became chief minister.

Now Wan Empok and Wan Malini had a cow, silvery white in colour. And one day by the will of God this cow spewed†⁴⁰ foam from its mouth. From this foam came forth a human being called Bath, who stood up and said, "Hail†⁴¹ to his Highness, the Sri Maharaja, ruler of the whole Suvarna-bhumi, whose diadem is adorned with the happiness of strength and victory... adornment of the three worlds... law... gone for protection... throne... sunrise of valour jewel... with gods and demons... to the time of the dissolution of the Universe, the coronal wreath of the righteous king, the king, the supreme lord." And Bath gave to the Raja the title of Sri Tri Buana. [It is from the descendants of Bath that the readers of the *chiri**†⁴² in ancient

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[56—57] times traced their origin] And Sri Tri Buana became famous as a ruler; and all mankind, male and female, came from every part of the country to pay their homage to him, all of them bringing offerings for his acceptance. On all who came to present themselves before him Sri Tri Buana bestowed robes of honour, giving to all the men the title of Awang and to all the women the title of Dara. This was the origin of the institution of (?) The Corps of Noble Youths†^{42a} and The Company of Maids of Honour. When Sri Tri Buana was established on the throne, he wished for a consort; and wherever†⁴³ there was to be found a beautiful daughter of a prince he took her to wife†⁴⁴. But any such princess, when she slept with the king, was found by him the following morning to be stricken with chloasma as the result of being possessed†⁴⁵ by him, whereupon he abandoned her. To no less than thirty-nine princesses had this happened. Now it came to the king's ears that Dēmang Lebar Daun had a daughter†⁴⁶, Wan Sendari by name, whose beauty was such that she had no equal in those days. Sri Tri Buana asked (?)†⁴⁷ Dēmang Lebar Daun for her hand in marriage; but Dēmang Lebar Daun replied, "If your Highness avails himself of your humble servant's daughter, she will assuredly be stricken with chloasma. But if your Highness desires your humble servant's daughter, then must your Majesty make a covenant with your humble servant, whereupon your humble servant will offer her for your Majesty's acceptance." [It was Dēmang Lebar Daun who was the author of the expressions "your Majesty" and "your humble servant"] And Sri Tri Buana asked, "What is this undertaking that you would have of me?" Dēmang Lebar Daun answered, "Your Highness, the descendants of your humble servant shall be the subjects of your Majesty's throne, but they must be well treated by your descendants. If they offend, they shall not, however grave be their offence, be disgraced or reviled with evil words: if their offence is grave, let them be put to death, if that is in accordance with Muham-madan law.

And the king replied, "I agree to give the undertaking for which you ask: but I in my turn require an undertaking from you, sir." And when Dēmang Lebar Daun asked what the undertaking was, the king answered, "that your descendants shall never for rest of time be disloyal to my descendants, even if my descendants oppress them and behave evilly." And Dēmang Lebar Daun said, "Very well, your Highness. But if your descendants depart from the terms of the pact, then so will mine." And Sri Tri Buana replied, "Very well, I agree I agree to that covenant": whereupon both of them took a solemn oath to the effect that whoever departed from the terms of the pact, let

* Formula (in a non-Malayan tongue) pronounced at the installation of a Sultan or the investiture of a Chief (Winstedt).

[57—58] his house be overturned by Almighty God so that its roof be laid on the ground and its pillars be inverted. And that is why it has been granted by Almighty God to Malay rulers that they shall never put their subjects to shame, and that those subjects however gravely they offend shall never be bound†⁴⁸ or hanged or disgraced with evil words. If any ruler puts a single one of his subjects to shame†⁴⁹, that shall be a sign that his kingdom will be destroyed by Almighty God. Similarly it has been granted by Almighty God to Malay subjects that they shall never be disloyal or treacherous to their rulers, even if their rulers behave evilly or inflict injustice upon them.

When the covenant had been made and strict promises mutually given, Princess Wan Sendari was offered by Dēmang Lebar Daun to Sri Tri Buana, and Sri Tri Buana was wedded to the princess, daughter of Dēmang Lebar Daun. And when night had fallen, the king slept with the princess: and when day dawned he saw that she was not stricken with chloasma. And the king was overjoyed and ordered Dēmang Lebar Daun to be informed. And Dēmang Lebar Daun came forthwith, and he too was overjoyed†⁵⁰ to see that his daughter was unscathed and that no harm had befallen her.

Dēmang Lebar Daun then made preparations for the ceremonial lustration†⁵¹ of Sri Tri Buana, and he ordered a seven-tiered bathing pavilion to be built with five spires. The construction was of the finest quality and it was Bath's workmanship. When it was finished, Dēmang Lebar Daun initiated the festivities that were to be celebrated day and night for forty days and forty nights, with feasting, drinking and entertainment of every kind, in which participated princes, ministers†⁵², courtiers, heralds, war-chiefs and all the people, to the accompaniment of music that rolled like thunder. Many were the buffaloes, oxen and sheep that were slaughtered: the rice-refuse from the cooking-pots was piled mountain-high and the boiling water was like a sea in which the heads of slaughtered buffaloes and oxen were so many islands.

When the forty days and forty nights were accomplished, the ceremonial water was borne in procession to the accompaniment of every sort of music, and the vessels containing the water were all of them of gold studded with jewels. The Sri Tri Buana with his bride, Princess Wan Sendari, were borne in procession seven times round the pavilion, and they were then lustrated on the central platform, the ceremony being performed by Bath. When the lustration was accomplished, Sri Tri Buana took off his towel wrap and donned his apparel, his sarong being of *darapata*†^{52a} *darmani*, while Wan Sendari also donned a sarong of *burudaimani*: and both were invested with the complete insignia of sovereignty, whereupon they took their seats in the

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[158—59] appointed place on the golden dais. The ceremonial rice was then borne in procession to the dais, and the king and his bride partook thereof. And when they had eaten, the royal head-ornaments were brought in procession and placed by Bath on the king's head and his bride's. Thereupon Sri Tri Buana proceeded to give robes of honour to his chiefs: after which Sri Tri Buana went^{†53} into the palace and all who had been present at the ceremony returned to their homes.

After Sri Tri Buana had been living for some time at Palembang he planned^{†54} to visit the coast and he sent for Dēmang Lebar Daun, who came forthwith. And Sri Tri Buana said to him, "I am thinking of going to the coast to find a suitable site for a city. What say you?" And Dēmang Lebar Daun replied, "As your Highness pleases. If your Majesty goes, I will accompany you, for I must not be parted from your Highness." Then said Sri Tri Buana, "Please then have ships made ready." And Dēmang Lebar Daun did obeisance and left the palace to call men to prepare the craft. When this was done, Dēmang Lebar Daun arranged for his younger brother to remain at Palembang in his absence, saying, "I am leaving you here in charge of the city as I am going with his Majesty, accompanying him whenever he may go." And his brother replied, "Very well: no wish of yours will I disobey."

Sri Tri Buana then set forth, he in the royal (golden) yacht^{†55} for the menfolk and the queen in the silver yacht, while Dēmang Lebar Daun, the ministers and the war-chiefs had each their own craft. So vast was the fleet that there seemed to be no counting it; the masts of the ships were like a forest of trees, their pennons and streamers were like driving clouds and the state umbrellas of the Rajas like cirrus. So many were the craft that accompanied Sri Tri Buana that the sea seemed to be nothing but ships.

After leaving Kuala Palembang they crossed over the Sēlat Sēpat, and from there they sailed on to Sēlat Sambar. Meanwhile the news had come to Bentan^{†56} after they had sailed from Palembang, that "a Raja from Bukit Si-Guntang, who is descended from Raja Iskandar Dzu'l-Karnain, is on his way here and is now at Sēlat Sambar."

Now Bentan was ruled by a woman, called Wan Sri Benian, though according to one tradition her name was Queen Sakidar Shah. She was a great Raja, and at that time it was she who visited Sham. It was Queen Sakidar Shah who first institute the drum^{†57} of sovereignty, which practice was followed by other Rajas. When she heard the news of the coming of Sri Tri Buana, she commanded her ministers, Indra Bopal and Aria Bopal to

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[59—60] bring him to Bentan. [At that time the fleet of Bentan was four hundred sail]*. And Wan Sri Benian said to Indra Bopal, "If this Raja is old, say to him 'Your younger sister sends her obeisance'†^{57a}, but if he is young, say 'Your mother sends her greetings.' "

So Indera Bopal and Aria Bopal set out†⁵⁸, and the ships of the party sent to bring Sri Tri Buana to Bentan were strung out in one unbroken line from Tanjong Rungas to Sēlat Sambar. And when they came up with Sri Tri Buana, Indra Bopal and Aria Bopal perceived that he was very young, and they said to him, "Your mother sends greetings and invites your Highness to Bentan." So Sri Tri Buana proceeded to Bentan and went into the palace†⁵⁹ to Wan Sri Benian as she was called. Now the purpose of Wan Sri Benian had been to marry Sri Tri Buana, but when she saw how young he was she adopted him instead as her son and shewed such affection for him that she had him installed at Bentan as her successor, to the beat of the drum of sovereignty. After he had been there for a time, Sri Tri Buana one day sought permission to make an expedition to Tanjong Bēmian†⁶⁰ for sport, and the queen replied, "Why go†⁶¹ so far afield for your sport, my son? In Bentan are there not deer and mouse-deer with†^{61a} enclosures into which to drive them? Are there not barking-deer and porcupines with cages in which to capture them? Are there not fish in our pools and every sort of fruit and flower in our gardens? Why is it that you want to go so far afield for your sport?" And Sri Tri Buana answered, "If I am not permitted to go, then I shall die, whether I sit down or stand up or whatever I do." Whereupon Wan Sri Benian said, "Rather than you should die, go, my son."

And the queen ordered Indra Bopal and Aria Bopal to have craft made ready. And when that was done, Sri Tri Buana set out with his consort. And the whole fleet—royal yachts, ships for sleeping, ships for the menfolk, wherries that were paddled, kitchen boats, dug-outs for fishing with the casting-net and floating bath-houses—(put out to sea), with a countless host of escorting vessels.

And when they were come to Tanjong Bemian, the king went ashore for a picnic on the sand, and his consort accompanied by the wives of the chiefs went ashore also to picnic on the sand and enjoy herself collecting shellfish. And she sat under a screw-pine, with the wives of the chiefs in attendance upon her, happily watched her handmaids amusing themselves, each one in her own way, some gathering shellfish, some digging up *barai**, some picking mangrove flowers and making nosegays, some picking

*Passages enclosed in square brackets are in the text but are parentheses, breaking the thread of the narrative.

[60—61] *teruntum*† to wear in their hair, some picking bananas and cooking them, some picking *butun*‡ leaves, some picking sponges and playing with them, some getting sea-worms and making salad with them, some getting sea-weed for jelly and salad—all of them disporting themselves to their heart's content, each in her own fashion.

Now Sri Tri Buana and all the men went hunting†⁶² and great was the quantity of game that fell to them. And it happened that a deer passed in front of Sri Tri Buana and though he speared it in the back, the deer escaped. Sri Tri Buana followed it up and again speared it, this time through the ribs: and the deer could not escape and fell dead. And Sri Tri Buana came to a very large, high rock. He climbed on to the top of this rock and looking across the water he saw that the land on the other side had sand so white that it looked like a sheet of (?)†⁶³ cloth. And he asked Indra Bopal, "What is that stretch of sand that we see yonder? What land is that?" And Indra Bopal answered, "That, your Highness, is the land called Temasek." And Sri Tri Buana said, "Let us go thither." And Indra Bopal replied, "I will do whatever your Highness commands." So Sri Tri Buana embarked and started on the crossing†⁶⁴. And when they were come out into the open sea, a storm arose and the ship began to fill with water. Bale as they might they could not clear her and the boatswain gave order to lighten the ship. But though much was thrown overboard, they still could not bale the ship dry. She was by now close to Telok Blanga, and the boatswain said to Sri Tri Buana, "It seems to me, your Highness, that it is because of the crown of kingship that the ship is foundering. All else has been thrown overboard, and if we do not likewise with this crown we shall be helpless with the ship." And Sri Tri Buana replied, "Overboard with it then!" And the crown was thrown overboard. Thereupon the storm abated, and the ship regained her buoyancy and was rowed to land. And when they reached the shore, the ship was brought close in and Sri Tri Buana went ashore with all the ship's company and they amused themselves with collecting shell-fish. The king then went inland for sport on the open ground at Kuala Temasek.

And they all beheld a strange animal. It seemed to move with great speed; it had a red body and a black head; its breast was white; it was strong and active in build, and in size was rather bigger than a he-goat. When it saw the party, it moved away and then disappeared. And Sri Tri Buana inquired of all those who were with him, "What beast is that?" But no one

* A shell, unid.

† *Lumnitzera* spp.?

‡ *Barringtonia* spp.

[61—62] knew. Then said Dēmang Lebar Daun, “Your Highness, I have heard it said that in ancient times it was a lion that had that appearance. I think that what we saw must have been a lion.” And Sri Tri Buana said to Indra Bopal, “Go back to Bentan and tell the queen that now we shall not be returning, but that if she wishes to shew her affection for us, will she furnish us with men, elephants and horses, as we propose to establish a city here at Temasek.” And Indra Bopal set forth to return to Bentan; and when he arrived there, he presented himself before Wan Sri Benian to whom he related what Sri Tri Buana had said. “Very well,” said Wan Sri Benian, “we will never oppose any wish of our son.” And she sent men, elephants and horses without number. Sri Tri Buana then established a city at Temasek, giving it the name of Singapura. And after he had dwelt for some time at Singapura he had two children, both sons, by Princess Wan Sendari, daughter of Dēmang Lebar Daun. And Wan Sri Benian^{†64a} died, leaving two grand-daughters: they were married to the two sons of Sri Tri Buana.

And when Sri Tri Buana had ruled for forty-eight years then in the process^{†65} of time he died, as did Dēmang Lebar Daun, and they were buried on the hill of Singapura. Sri Tri Buana was succeeded by his elder son, whose title as ruler was Paduka Sri Pikrama Wira, and Tun Perpatih Permuka Berjajar became Bendahara: it was he who gave audience in the hall of audience instead of Paduka Sri Pikrama whenever the king himself did not appear. If it was Tun Perpatih Permuka Berjajar who sat in the hall of audience, he would rise to greet a prince who was heir to the throne but for no other prince would he rise^{†66}; and if he himself went into the royal presence, over the place where he was to sit a carpet would be spread, and when he went home after the king had retired, he would be escorted by the chiefs, major and minor. Now there was a son of Dēmang Lebar Daun whom Paduka Sri Paduka Wira made^{†67} chief minister with the title of Perpatih Permuka Sekalar. He had the same rank (in the hall of audience) as the Bendahara. (? Below the Bendahara sat the Penghulu Bendahari) with the title of Tun Jana Buga Dendang. In front of (? below) the Penghulu Bendahari sat the Temenggong with the title of Tun Jana Putra....?, while below the Temenggong sat the principal war-chief with the title of Tun Tempurong Gemeratokan. After them came the ministers,^{†68} minor chiefs, knights^{†69} and courtiers, heralds and war-chiefs, in accordance with^{†70} the custom dating from ancient times. And Paduka Sri Pikrama Wira had a son, who was known as Raja Muda. And Singapura became a great city, to which foreigners resorted in great numbers so that the fame of the city and its greatness spread throughout the world.

God knoweth the truth. To Him do we return.

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Chapter IV

The great Kingdom of Majapahit and its ruler, the Batara. His quarrel with Singapore: the episode of the wood-shaving and Sri Pikrama Wira's riposte. The unsuccessful attack of Majapahit on Singapore.

(*Shellabear, Chapter V*)

[62—63] Here now is the story of the Batara of Majapahit, who traced his descent from heaven. He had married the daughter of the Raja of Tanjong Pura†⁷¹, who was a Raja from Bukit Si-Guntang and by her he had two sons, the elder of whom he installed (to succeed him) as ruler at Majapahit. The Raja of Majapahit was descended from Princess Semaningrat, and he was known as the Batara of Majapahit. So great was his kingdom that every prince in the land of Java was subject to him, as were half of the princes of Nusantara.

When the Batara of Majapahit heard that Singapura was a great city but that its ruler did not acknowledge the Batara as overlord, he was very angry. And he sent envoys to Singapura taking with them as the customary present a wood-shaving seven fathoms long, which had been cut without a break in it: it was as thin as paper and rolled up in the form of a girl's ear-stud. The envoys set sail for Singapura, which they reached in due course. On their arrival Paduka Sri Pikrama Wira ordered that they be duly welcomed. The envoys then presented themselves before the king and laid before him the letter and the customary present accompanying it. Paduka Sri Pikrama Wira read the letter, which ran as follows:—"Behold, younger brother, the skill of Javanese artificers. Are there in Singapura artificers as skilled as this?" And the king ordered the present to be opened, whereupon he beheld a wood-shaving rolled up like an ear-stud. And he smiled, for he realised what was in the mind of the Batara of Majapahit, and he said, "It is in disparagement of our manliness that the Batara of Majapahit sends us a girl's ear-stud!" But the envoys replied, "No, your Highness, that was not the intention of your Highness's elder brother. What he says is, "Is there at your Highness's feet a man who can use an adze like that?"

When Paduka Sri Pikrama Wira heard the words of the envoys, he answered, "Even greater†⁷² than that is the skill of craftsmen we have!" And he ordered a carpenter named Sang Bentan to be sent for: and when he came, the king ordered a boy to be fetched, and he bade the carpenter shave the hair off the boy's head with his adze, in front of the envoys. And the carpenter proceeded to shave the boy's head: and though the boy cried and kept moving his head this way and that, the carpenter went on with his work and in the twinkling of an eye the hair was gone as though it had been taken off with a

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[63—64] razor. The envoys were astounded, and Sri Pikrama Wira said to them, "There's skill for you! A man who can shave a boy's head with his adze would laugh†^{72a} at the task of making a wood-shaving like that! Take this adze to Majapahit and crave our brother's acceptance of it!" And the Javanese envoys sought leave to return to their country, and they took with them as a customary present the adze which the carpenter had used for shaving the boy's head: and their ship set sail from Singapura.

And when in due course they reached Java, the envoys landed and presented themselves before the Batara of Majapahit, to whom they gave the letter and the present from the Raja of Singapura, at the same time relating how the carpenter had shaved the boy's head with his adze and what Sri Pikrama Wira had said. And the Batara was very angry when he heard the envoy's story and said, "What the Raja of Singapura means is that if we go there, our heads will be shaved as was the boy's!" And he ordered his war-chiefs to have a fleet made ready for an attack on Singapura, one hundred ships of the line together with small craft beyond†^{72b} number. And the Batara appointed one of his leading war-chief to command the fleet: and he sailed for Singapura, where he arrived in due course. And the Javanese troops landed and fought the men of Singapura; and a great†⁷³ battle ensued. Loud rang weapon on weapon; terrifying was the roar of the warriors shouting; the din was unimaginable. On†⁷⁴ either side many were killed and the ground flowed with blood. By the evening the Javanese had retreated and gone back on board their side many were killed and the ground flowed with blood. By the evening the Javanese had retreated and gone back on board their ships. So long is the story of the battle between Singapura and Java that were I to tell it in detail, listeners would have more than their fill. That is why I shorten it, for diffuseness makes no appeal to the intelligent. But Singapura fell not and the Javanese returned to Majapahit.

Chapter V

The Ruler of Bija Nagara has a beautiful daughter, Talai Pachudi, and Paduka Sri Pikrama Wira sends his minister to ask for her hand for his son, Raja Muda. Raja Muda succeeds his father and is styled Sri Rana Wikrama. The story of Badang, Sri Rana Wikrama's strong man.

(The earlier part of this chapter will be found in Shellabear, chapter IV: but most of it, viz. the story of Badang, is in Chapter VI of Shellabear).

Here now is the story of Adirama Raja Mudaliar, a son of Raja Chulan. He was Raja at Bija Nagara and had a son named Jambuga Raja Mudaliar. When Adirama Raja Mudaliar had died, his son, Jambuga Raja Mudaliar, came to the throne. And he had a daughter, Princess Talai Puchudi by name, of remarkable beauty. The fame of her beauty was spread from country to country, but although any number of princes sought her hand

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[64—65] in marriage, Raja Jambuga Rama Mudaliar rejected their suit, saying, "They are not of lineage†⁷⁵ such as mine."

And news came to Singapura of the beauty of the princess, daughter of the Raja of Kalinga: and Paduka Sri Pikrama Wira appointed†^{75a} Maha Indra Bopal to go as envoy to Kalinga to ask for the hand of Princess Talai Puchudi for his son, Raja Muda. So Maha Indra Bopal set sail for Kalinga, and many craft accompanied his ship. And when he reached Bija Nagara, Raja Mudaliar ordered the letter and the gift which came with it to be brought with ceremony from the ship: and they were then borne in procession with every mark of distinction.

When the letter†⁷⁶ had been read and interpreted, Raja Jambuga Rama Mudaliar was well pleased, and he said to Maha Indra Bopal, "I am in full accord with my brother's proposal. But I would not trouble him to send his son hither; I will send my daughter to Singapura." Maha Indra Bopal then sought leave to return and Raja Jambuga Rama Mudaliar gave him a letter and a present to the Raja of Singapura, whereupon Maha Indra Bopal set sail and in due course arrived at Singapura. And Sri Pikrama Wira ordered that the letter be borne in procession with the honours accorded to great Rajas. And when it reached the hall of audience, it was received by the herald and presented to Sri Pikrama Wira, who ordered that it be read. And when it had been interpreted to the king, he was well pleased; and when he received from Maha Indra Bopal the message he brought from Raja Jambuga Rama Mudaliar, his pleasure was even greater. And when the next sailing season came round, Raja Jambuga Rama Mudaliar ordered ships to be made ready. And when they were ready, the king ordered one of his war-chiefs to escort Princess Talai Puchudi, his daughter, and she embarked in a ship accompanied by five hundred maids of honour. The war-chief then set sail with the princess, accompanied by a large number of decked ships, to say nothing of shallops and batels.

When they reached Singapura, Paduka Sri Pikrama Wira came out as far as Tanjong Burus to meet†⁷⁷ them, (? received†⁷⁸ them with) every mark of honour and distinction (and escorted them to Singapura). On their arrival, Paduka Sri Pikrama Wira initiated the day and night festivities for the wedding of his son with the princess, daughter of the Raja of Kalinga. The festivities lasted for three months. Raja Pikrama Wira then celebrated the wedding of Princess Talai Puchudi (with his son). After the wedding the Kalinga war-chief sought leave to return to his country, and when Paduka Sri Pikrama Wira had given him a letter and a present for the Raja of Kalinga, the envoy†⁷⁹ returned to Kalinga.

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[65—66]

After a while, when Paduka Sri Pikrama Wira had completed fifteen years on the throne, then in the process of time he died†⁸⁰ and was succeeded on the throne by his son, Raja Muda, with the title of Sri Rana Wikerma as ruler. He had two children by Princess Talai Puchudi, daughter of the Raja of Kalinga; one son, named Dam Raja, and one daughter.

Now Tun Perpatch Muka Berjajar had died and was succeeded as Bendahara by his son with the title of Tun Perpatch Tulus. And Tun Perpatch Tulus had two children, a son and a daughter whose name was Dēmi Putri. She was married by Sri Rana Wikerma to his son, while the son of Tun Perpatch Tulus was married by the king to his daughter.

Now King Sri Rana Wikerma had a war-chief, called Badang, who was possessed of very great strength. Badang originally came from Sayong on the mainland. He was the slave of a Sayong man, for whom he worked day in, day out felling forest. Once upon a time Badang set a fish-trap in the Besisek river; and when he†⁸¹ raised (?) the trap, he found it was empty, with not a fish in it, though there were fish scales and fish bones in the trap. This happened day after day. The fish scales he would throw away into the river: hence the river was called Sisek (? Besisek). And Badang reflected, "What can it be that eats the fish in this trap? I had better watch secretly to find out what it is that eats the fish." So one day Badang concealed himself among the reeds†⁸² and watched, and he saw a demon come and eat the fish in the trap; a demon with eyes as red as flame, with creel-like matted hair and a beard down to his waist. Badang seized his cleaver and mustering up his courage he set upon the demon and caught him by the beard, saying, "It's you who are always eating my fish! This time you shall die by my hand!" When the demon heard the words of Badang, he was utterly confused†⁸³ and terrified and vainly sought to escape from Badang's grasp. "Kill me†⁸⁴ not", he cried, "and I will give you whatever you desire, be it riches, be it strength and endurance, be it invisibility—you shall have it if you spare my life." And Badang reflected, "If I ask for riches, it is my master who will get them. If I ask for invisibility, assuredly I shall be killed. That being so, I had better ask for power and strength in order that I may have strength for my master's work." So he answered, "Give me power and strength so that any tree however big I can uproot and break; so that trees which are so thick that a man's arms can barely compass them, or are even twice as thick as that, I may be able to uproot with one hand!" And the demon answered, "Very well, if you desire strength, I will give it to you, but you must first eat my vomit." "Very well", said Badang, "vomit then, that I may eat your vomit." And the demon vomited, copiously. Badang ate the vomit, every

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[66—67] bit of it, but all the time he held†⁸⁵ the demon's beard and would not let it go. After he had eaten the demon's vomit, Badang made trial of his strength and he uprooted one big tree after another, breaking them all. Then he let go the demon's beard and made his way to the land he was clearing for his master, where he uprooted and broke one big tree after another, and trees so thick that a man's arms could barely compass them, or even twice as thick as that, he plucked from the ground with but one†⁸⁶ hand, so that they were completely torn up roots and all, while smaller trees he twitched up with but one hand and sent flying. Thus it was that in the twinkling of an eye a great forest became nothing but a treeless plain, of immeasurable extent.

And when his master saw what had been done, he said, "Who felled†⁸⁷ this land of ours that it has been cleared with such speed?" And Badang answered, "Your servant felled it." And his master asked, "In what manner did you fell it that the work has been done with such speed and land cleared as far as the eye can see?" And Badang told the whole story to his master, who thereupon freed him.

When Sri Rana Wikerma came to hear of this, he sent for Badang and made†⁸⁸ him one of his war-chiefs: and it was Badang who was ordered to pass a chain across the river to serve as a boom and restrict the passage of ships in and out of Singapura. And for the Raja's table, Badang was sent to fetch kuras* from Kuala Sayong for salad. He went by himself, his boat was eight fathoms long and for his punt-pole he used a whole kempas† trunk. When he reached Kuala Sayong, he climbed the kuras tree but the bough which was supporting his weight broke and he fell to the ground, crashing his head on a rock. And the rock was split, though Badang's head was not: and that rock is at Kuala Sayong to this day, as are Badang's punt-pole and boat.

Badang returned from Kuala Sayong the same day and he filled his boat with bananas and keladi‡, all of which he had eaten by the time he had gone down the river as far as Johor. Once upon a time Sri Rama (? Rana) Wikerma had a boat twelve fathoms long built for him in front of the palace. When the boat was finished and was to be launched, it was found that two or three hundred men between them could not launch it. So Badang was ordered to launch it, and he by himself launched it so vigorously that it shot across to the other side of the river.

* *Dryobalanops Oblongifolia*.

† *Compassia malacensis*.

‡ *Colocasia antiquorum*.

[67—68] Later†⁸⁹ the news reached Kalinga that the Raja of Singapura had a war-chief possessed of prodigious strength. Now the Raja of Kalinga had among his champions an enormously powerful man, and the Raja of Kalinga commanded that this man should go to Singapura with seven ships. And the Raja said to him, "Go you to Singapura and pit yourself in a trial of strength against the war-chief of Singapura. If he defeats you, you will pay to him as the stakes†⁹⁰ of the match the contents of these seven ships. But if you defeat him, you will demand the value of the goods in the seven ships." And the champion answered, "Very well, your Highness", and he then set sail for Singapura with the seven ships. When he reached Singapura, word was brought to Sri Rana Wikerma that a champion was come from Kalinga for a trial of strength with Badang, the stakes of the match to be, if he was beaten, the contents of the seven ships (he had with him). King Sri Rana Wikerma thereupon appeared from the palace and gave an audience, at which the Kalinga champion presented himself. The Raja bade him contend with Badang, but in every encounter between them the Kalinga champion was worsted by Badang. Now in front of the hall of audience there was a huge rock, and the Kalinga champion said to Badang, "Let us try our strength in lifting that rock. Whichever of us fails to lift it is the loser." "Very well", answered Badang, "you try first." Thereupon the Kalinga champion tried to lift the rock but failed. He then put forth every effort and raised it as far as his knees, then he let it down again with a crash, saying, "Now it's your turn, sir." "Very well", said Badang and he lifted the rock, swung it into the air and hurled it to the far bank of Kuala Singapura. That is the rock which is there to this day on the extremity of Tanjong Singapura. The Kalinga champion then handed over to Badang all seven ships with their contents and departed for his own country grieving under the disgrace of the defeat that Badang had inflicted upon him.

The news then reached Perlak that the Raja of Singapura had a war-chief of enormous strength, Badang by name, whose equal did not exist at that time. Now according to the account we have received the Raja of Perlak also had a champion, named Bendërang, who was famed for his great strength. At the time that news was brought about Badang it happened that Bendërang was in the presence of the Raja of Perlak: and he said to the Raja of Perlak, "Your Highness, it is hardly likely that this Badang is stronger than I. If your Highness will so command, let me go to Singapura for a contest with him!" And the Raja of Perlak agreed; and turning to his chief minister he said, "I desire you go to Singapura as I am sending†⁹¹ Bendërang there." "Very well, your Highness," answered Tun Perpatch Pandak; and after doing obeisance he left the palace and summoned men for the

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[68—69] work of making ready a ship. When the ship was ready [it was Tun Perpatih Pandak who was commanded by the Raja of Perlak to go to Singapura with Bendërang], the letter was borne in procession to the ship and Tun Perpatih Pandak sailed for Singapura, which he reached in the course of a few days. On his arrival there word was brought to the Raja of Singapura, "Your Highness, Tun Perpatih Pandak, chief minister of the Raja of Perlak, is come bringing one Bendërang, who is one of the Raja of Perlak's champions and has been sent hither for a trial of strength with Badang." When King Sri Rana Wikerma heard this he appeared and gave an audience at which princes, ministers, courtiers, heralds and pages†⁹² were all in attendance. And Sri Rana Wikerma commanded Maha Indra Bopal to fetch†⁹³ the letter with due ceremony from the ship, taking elephants†⁹⁴ for the purpose. And the letter was borne in procession into the palace domain. It was then read, and its wording†⁹⁵ gave great pleasure. Tun Perpatih Pandak then did obeisance, and the king ordered that he should sit on the same level as Tun Jana Buga Dendang, while Bendërang was given a place on the same level as Badang. Then the king asked Tun Perpatih Pandak, "On what business has our brother sent you hither, sir?" And Tun Perpatih Pandak answered, "I have been commanded by your Highness' younger brother to bring hither Bendërang for a trial of strength with†⁹⁶ Badang. If Bendërang loses, the contents of a warehouse are presented to your Highness by your Highness' younger brother. If Badang loses, your Highness would pay a similar forfeit." "Very well," said Sri Rana Wikerma, "to-morrow we will pit them against each other." After a short conversation the king left the audience hall and went into the palace, whereupon all who had presented themselves before him returned, each to his house.

King Sri Rana Wikerma then sent for Badang: and when he appeared, the king said to him, "To-morrow I am matching you against Bendërang". And Badang replied, "Your Highness, this Bendërang is an outstanding champion of these times, a man of such exceptional strength that he is famed far and wide. If I am beaten, will not your Highness be put to shame? I humbly suggest that if your Majesty wishes to match me against him, he should be summoned to-night and given food, so that I may see how he acquits†⁹⁷ himself. If I can contend with him, I will do so. If I cannot, then I hope your Highness will forbid the match and prohibit my contending with him." The king agreed and that night he sent for Tun Perpatih Pandak, Bendërang and their companions. When they were came, they were entertained; meat and drink were set before them and they made merry. Now Bendërang sat side by side with Badang, and Badang squeezed close up to him; whereupon Bendërang laid his thigh over that of Badang and pressed it down with all his might.

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[169—70] Badang however raised his thigh and forced up Bendërang's. Then Badang laid his thigh over that of Bendërang; and try as he might Bendërang could not raise his thigh. What happened†⁹⁸ thus between Badang and Bendërang was seen by no one else: they alone knew. After a night's†⁹⁹ feasting the envoys were drunk and the whole party took their leave and returned to the ship.

When they had gone, King Sri Rana Wikerma asked Badang, "Do you feel yourself a match for Benderang?" And Badang answered, "Yes, your Highness, with your royal sanctity to help me I shall be a match for him. To-morrow let your Highness pit me against him." And the king replied, "Very well then", and he then retired, whereupon all those present returned, each to his house. And when Tun Perpateh Pandak reached his ship, Bendërang said to him, "If you can so contrive it, sir, let me not be pitted against Badang, in case he should prove to be more than a match for me, for I find him to be possessed of prodigious strength." And Tun Perpateh Pandak answered, "Very well, I can contrive that without difficulty." Day then dawned.

Early in the morning King Sri Rana Wikerma appeared from the palace and gave an audience, and when Tun Perpateh Pandak presented himself, the king said to him, "Now we will pit Bendërang against Badang." But Tun Perpateh Pandak answered, "It would be better not, your Highness: the defeat of either might mean pitting†¹⁰⁰ your Highness against your Highness' younger brother!" And King Sri Rana Wikerma smiled and said, "Very well, Tun Perpateh Pandak, I won't oppose your wishes!"

Tun Perpateh Pandak then sought leave to return to Perlak, and King Sri Rana Wikerma gave him a letter and a present to take to the Raja of Perlak, whereupon he sailed home to Perlak. According to one tradition it was Bendërang who made the boom†¹⁰¹ across the river which still exists at Singapura. And when Tun Perpateh Pandak reached Perlak, the letter he brought was by the Raja of Perlak ('s orders?)†¹⁰² borne in procession by elephant†¹⁰³, the elephant being brought alongside the hall of audience. And the king (? gave orders to) read the letter and was well pleased with its wording. And he asked Tun Perpateh Pandak why it was that the match between Bendërang and Badang had not taken place. Tun Perpateh Pandak then described what happened between Badang and Bendërang when they were drinking, and the Raja of Perlak received the story in silence. And after a while Badang died and was buried at Buru. When the news of his death reached Kalinga, the Raja of Kalinga sent a stone for the grave, and that is the stone which is there to this day. And after King Sri Rana Wikerma had reigned for thirteen years he died and was succeeded on the throne by his son Dam Raja, with the title of Paduka Sri Maharaja. Now the consort of

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- [70] King Dam was with child: and when the time was accomplished, she brought forth a son. At his birth the midwife pressed too heavily on his head, with the result that it became lower in the middle than on either side: and the king gave the child the name Raja Iskandar the Two-horned.

God knoweth the truth. To Him do we return.

Chapter VI

The story of the Rajas of Pasai. Mërah Silu is driven out by his brother and goes to the country to which he gives the name of Semudra, the Semudra of which the Prophet foretold the conversion to Islam. The voyage of the missionaries from Mecca to Semudra in Nakhoda Isma'il's ship and the successive conversions of Fansuri, Lamiri, Haru and Perlak on their way. They reach Semudra where Mërah Silu is converted to Islam and made Raja of Semudra with the title of Sultan Maliku'l-Saleh. The marriage of Sultan Maliku'l-Saleh with the daughter of the Raja of Perlak. He has two sons, Sultan Maliku'tl-Tahir and Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur. He founds Pasai as a settlement for Sultan Maliku'tl-Tahir and after dividing his men, elephants and regalia equally between his two sons makes Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur ruler of Semudra. The Raja of Shahru'nuwi (Siam) takes Sultan Maliku'tl-Tahir captive, but the latter is recovered from Siam by his faithful minister disguised as an Arab trader and is restored to sovereignty in Pasai. Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur offends his brother, is captured by him and exiled to Manjong; and though Sultan Maliku'tl-Tahir subsequently repents of his treatment of his brother and sends to Manjong to bring him back, Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur dies at Padang Maya by the tomb of his minister, whom Sultan Maliku'tl-Tahir had executed. The attack of the swordfish on Singapore. Sang Ranjuna Tapa's treachery in revenge for Sultan Iskandar's treatment of his daughter. The invasion of Singapore by the Javanese and the fall of the city. Sultan Iskandar is driven from Singapore and finally makes a settlement at Malacca. After a reign of 25 years he dies and is succeeded by his son who takes the title of Sultan Megat. The latter only reigns for two years and is succeeded by his son, Raja Tengah, who is miraculously converted to Islam. Saiyid 'Abdu'l-'Aziz comes from Jeddah, all Malacca is converted to Islam and Raja Tengah takes the title of Sultan Muhammad Shah. He introduces precise court ceremonial and proves himself to be a good and just ruler. The rise of Malacca to greatness.

(Shellabear, chapters VII to XI)

Here now is the story of the Raja (? Rajas) of Pasai^{103a}; and this is how it begins according to the account we have received. There were two brothers Mërah, who lived near Pasangan. They came originally from Mount Sanggong; and the elder was called Mërah Chaga, the younger Mërah Silu. Now Mërah Silu went¹⁰⁴ in for setting fish-traps. If he caught galley-worms, he would throw them away. Then he would set his trap again, and again he caught galley-worms. After this had been going on for some time, he decided one day to boil¹⁰⁵ the galley-worms,

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[70—71] when lo! and behold, they turned into gold and their spume into silver! Yet again did Měrah Silu set his trap, and again he caught galley-worms, which he boiled and they turned into gold as before. And when Měrah Silu had gained much gold in this way, a report reached Měrah Chaga that “your brother eats galley-worms.” And Měrah Chaga was so angry with his brother that he was minded to kill†¹⁰⁶ him. When Měrah Silu heard of this, he fled to the forest of Jěrun. Now the place where Měrah Silu caught the galley-worms is known as the Field of Galley-worms to this day.

We come now to the story of Měrah Silu living in the forest of Jěrun. He gave gold†¹⁰⁷ to the people of the forest so that they did whatever he told them to do. One day Měrah Silu was out hunting and his hound, which he called “Pasai”, gave tongue. And Měrah Silu saw that “Pasai” was barking on some high ground which looked as though it had been heaped up. So he climbed up on to the high ground and there he beheld an ant that was as big as a cat. Měrah Silu caught the ant and ate it; and of the high ground he made a dwelling-place, calling it Semudra†^{107a} which signifies ‘great ant.’

Now history relates that in the days of the Apostle of God (may God bless him and give him peace), the Apostle said to his Companions, “In the latter days there shall be a city, below the wind, called Semudra. When you hear tell of this Semudra go thither with all speed and bring the people of that city into the Faith of Islam, for in that city shall be born many saints of God. There shall be moreover a fakir of a city named Ma’abri. Him take with you.” Some time after this saying of the Prophet (may God bless him and give him peace), the people of Mecca came to hear of the name of Semudra, and the Ruler of Mecca sent a ship there with regalia on board and ordered that the ship should call at Ma’abri on the way. The master of the ship was one Shaikh Isma’il.

And the ship set sail; and ere long put in at Ma’abri, anchoring in the roads. Now the Raja in that city was called Sultan Muhammad; and he ordered men to ask, “Whence is this ship?” And the answer came back from the ship, “We are come from Mecca and are on our way to Semudra.” Now this Sultan Muhammad was descended from Abubakar the Most Truthful (may God be content with him). And the men in the ship said, “Our coming is by reason of the behest of the Apostle of God (may God bless him and and give him peace)”. When Sultan Muhammad heard this, he made his eldest son Raja of Ma’abri in his stead and he himself with his younger son donned the dress of a fakir. Then abdicating the throne, he left the palace and went on board the ship, saying to the men, “Take me to Semu-

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[71—72] dra." And they thought to themselves, "This must†^{107b} be the fakir who was spoken of by the Prophet of God (may God bless him and give him peace)!" And they took him on board the ship and set sail. After they had been some while at sea they came to a country called Fansuri†^{107c}, and all the people of Fansuri embraced Islam. The following day the fakir went ashore with a Koran and he told the people of Fansuri to read it but not one of them could do so. And the fakir said to himself, "This is not the country spoken of by our Prophet, Muhammad the Apostle of God (may God bless him and give him peace)."

So Nakhoda Isma'il sailed on until after a time they came to a country called Lamiri†^{107d}. And the people of Lamiri embraced Islam. And the fakir went ashore taking with him a Koran, which he told the people of Lamiri to read, but not one of them could read it. The fakir then went back on board the ship and the voyage was resumed, until after a time they came to†^{107e} Haru, where all the inhabitants embraced Islam. And the fakir went aboard the ship and returned with a Koran, which he told the people to read but not one of them could read it. And the fakir asked the people, "Where†^{107f} is the country called Semudra?" And they answered, "You have sailed past it." So he went back on board the ship, and they sailed on again until they made a land-fall at Perlak†^{107g}, where the fakir admitted the people to the Faith of Islam. The ship then sailed on to Semudra.

And when they reached Semudra the fakir went ashore where he met Měrah Silu hunting for shell-fish on the beach. And the fakir asked him, "What is the name of this country?" And Měrah Silu answered, "This is Semudra." And the fakir asked, "What is the name of the headman of this country?" And Měrah Silu replied, "It is I who am the headman of the people here." The fakir thereupon admitted him to the Faith of Islam and taught him the Muslim creed. And when Měrah Silu had become a Muhammadan he returned to his house and the fakir returned to his ship. And that night in his sleep Měrah Silu dreamt that the Apostle of God (may God bless him and give him peace) appeared to him, and the Apostle of God said to him, "Open your mouth, Měrah Silu." And Měrah Silu opened his mouth and the Prophet (may God bless him and give him peace) spat into the mouth of Měrah Silu. And Měrah Silu was awakened from his sleep and to his nostrils there came from his body a fragrance as of spikenard. The next morning the fakir came ashore bringing with him a Koran and he told Měrah Silu to read it. And Měrah Silu read the Koran. Then said the fakir to Shaikh Isma'il, the master of the ship, "This is the country of Semudra of which the Prophet (may God bless him and give him peace) spoke." Shaikh Isma'il then took ashore

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[73] from his ship the regalia he had brought with him and he installed Měrah Silu as Raja with the title of Sultan Maliku's-Saleh.

The chiefs in that country were two in number, one called Sri Kaya and the other called Bawa Kaya. Both of them embraced Islam, Sri Kaya taking the name of Saidi 'Ali Ghithayu'd-din and Bawa Kaya the name of Saidi Asmayu'd-din. Shaikh Isma'il then sailed for Mecca, leaving the fakir behind to confirm the people in the Faith. Thereupon Sultan Maliku's-Saleh sent Saidi 'Ali Ghithayu'd-din to Perlak to ask for the hand of the Raja of Perlak's daughter. Now the Raja of Perlak had three daughters, two of them by his royal wife and one, called Princess Genggang, by a secondary wife. When Saidi 'Ali Ghithayu'd-din reached Perlak, the Raja of Perlak showed all three of his daughters to him; but he made the two sisters by the same mother sit below Princess Genggang, whom he ordered to sit above them on a raised seat and strip^{†108} betel-nuts for her sisters. She wore a rose-coloured sarong, a jacket the colour of the jambu* flower, and earstuds shaped like the flower of the Palmyra oil-palm; she had in her hand a *jěngkělnar* flower and she was very beautiful. And Saidi 'Ali Ghithayu'd-din said^{†109} to the Raja of Perlak, "It is the daughter of your Highness sitting in the upper seat that my master asks for." But he knew not that Princess Genggang was only the daughter of a secondary wife. And the Raja of Perlak laughed merrily and said, "Very well, it shall be as he pleases."

The Raja of Perlak then ordered a fleet of a hundred sail to be made ready, and Tun Perpateh Pandak was ordered to escort Princess Genggang to Semudra. And when they reached Semudra Sultan Maliku's-Saleh went out to greet Princess Genggang at Jambu Ayer, whence he escorted her into Semudra with every mark of honour and distinction. And when they reached Semudra, the king initiated the customary ceremonies of many days and many nights. And when they were ended the marriage of the king with Princess Genggang took place. After the wedding the king gave of his bounty to his ministers and war-chiefs and distributed alms to all the poor and needy of Semudra, giving them gold and silver. (He) also (gave rich presents)^{†110} to Tun Perpateh Pandak who some time after the wedding had taken place sought leave to depart and returned to Perlak. And in the course of time Sultan Maliku's-Saleh had two children by Princess Genggang, both of them sons; the elder was given the name of Sultan Maliku'tl-Tahir and the younger the name of Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur. The elder son was put in the charge of Saidi 'Ali Ghithayu'd-din and the younger in the charge of Saidi 'Ali Asmayu'd-Din.

*. *Eugenia* sp.

[73—75] Now when Sultan Maliku'tl-Tahir and Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur had grown up^{†111}, Perlak was defeated in war by an enemy from across the water, and the people of Perlak betook themselves to Semudra. And Sultan Maliku's-Saleh conceived the idea of building a city for his sons, and he said to his chiefs, "Tomorrow let us go hunting." At day-break he mounted his elephant called Perma Dewana and crossed the river. When he reached the far shore, the hound called "Pasai" gave tongue. Sultan Maliku's-Saleh hastened to the hound and found that it was barking on some high ground which in extent was large enough for a palace and its outbuildings. It was a fine site and looked as though it had been banked up by hand. This high ground Sultan Maliku's-Saleh ordered to be cleared, and on it he had a city built and a palace withal. And he called the place Pasai after his hound. And he made his son Sultan Maliku'tl-Tahir Raja of Pasai, with Saidi 'Ali Ghithayu'd-Din as chief minister. And Sultan Maliku'l-Saleh divided his men, his elephants and horses, and the regalia giving half to his son Sultan Maliku'tl-Tahir and half to his son Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur.

And after a while Sultan Maliku's-Saleh fell sick, and he sent for the chiefs of Semudra and summoned his two sons. And when they were all come together—the officers of state, his two sons and the chiefs—he spoke thus to his sons and the chiefs, "My sons, my friends and officers, my appointed time when I shall die is near at hand; and I bid you when I am gone see to it that you, my sons, hanker not after the goods of others nor lust after the wives of those who serve you. And you, my sons, live in concord one with another and let there be no variance between you." Then turning to Saidi 'Ali Ghithayu'd-Din and Saidi Asmayu'd-Din he said, "Do you, my brothers, take good care of these my two sons and prevent^{†112} any variance between them. Never fail in your loyalty to them or do homage to any other Raja but these my two sons." And the two of them knelt before the king and wept, and they said, "Your Highness, light of our eyes, by God Almighty the Creator of the Universe never will we, your humble servants, go back on our word or waver in our loyalty so as to do homage to any Raja but these two sons of your Highness."

Sultan Maliku's-Saleh then made his son Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur Raja of Semudra. And three days later he died and was buried close to his palace. He is known to this day as 'He who found God's Mercy in Semudra.'

After the death of his father Sultan Maliku'tl-Tahir and Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur (sic: ? omit) gave orders for the assembling of his war-chiefs, troops, elephants and horses, together with the regalia of Pasai. And Pasai grew greater from day to day and very many were its inhabitants.

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[75—76] Here now is a story of the Raja of Shahru'n-nuwi, who ruled a very great kingdom: his war-chiefs were legion and his men so numerous that none could count them. When people told the Raja of Shahru'n-nuwi about Semudra, of the number of its inhabitants, how many were the foreigners and merchants in the city and how great was the kingdom of the Raja, the Raja of Shahru'n-nuwi said to his war-chiefs, "Which of you will capture the Raja of Semudra†¹¹³ for me?" And one of them, Awi Dichu, a war-chief of great strength and courage, answered, "Your Highness, if by your Highness' favour I am given four thousand men, I will capture the Raja of Semudra and bring him alive to your Highness." The Raja of Shahru'n-nuwi then took four thousand war-chiefs and handed them over, with a hundred craft, to his war-chief Awi Dichu, who†^{113a} proceeds to fit out (?) the hundred ships. And when the ships had been made ready for sea, Awi Dichu ordered them to sail for Semudra in the guise of traders; and they set out one after the other until†¹¹⁴ the whole fleet had sailed. Then Awi Dichu himself sailed, making himself out to be an envoy from the Raja of Shahru'n-nuwi. And when word reached Semudra that envoys from the Raja of Shahru'n-nuwi were arriving, the Raja of Semudra ordered his war-chiefs to welcome them.

When Awi Dichu reached the shore, the letter he brought was taken†¹¹⁵; and he then hid in chests four strong war-chiefs of his, saying to them, "When you come into the presence of the Raja of Semudra, open these chests, come out, all four of you, and capture the Raja of Semudra." The chests were then locked from within and were borne in procession, being described as the present accompanying the letter from the Raja of Shahru'n-nuwi. When the letter had been brought before the Raja of Semudra, it was read, and it was to such and such an effect. Then the chests were laid out before the Raja of Semudra, whereupon the Shahru'n-nuwi war-chiefs inside them each opened the chest he was in, came out and seized the Raja of Semudra. The war-chiefs of the Raja of Semudra forthwith raised an outcry and drawing each man his weapon, were for fighting the war-chiefs of Shahru'n-nuwi, who however cried, "Lay a hand on us and we'll kill your Raja, make no doubt of that!" As they could not now fight the Shahru'n-nuwi war-chiefs, the men of Pasai accordingly stayed still. Awi Dichu and his men then returned†¹¹⁶ to their ships taking the Raja of Pasai with them and sailed off home with him.

And when they were come to Shahru'n-nuwi, Awi Dichu brought the Raja of Pasai (sic) to the Raja of Shahru'n-nuwi who was well pleased and gave to Awi Dichu and the war-chiefs who had accompanied him robes of honour such†¹¹⁷ as princes wear. As for the Raja of Semudra he ordered him to tend the palace fowls.

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[76—77] To return now to Saidi 'Ali Ghithayu'd-din. After consulting with the elder ministers of Pasai he had a ship built and he bought†¹¹⁸ Arabian merchandise; and since at that time all the people of Pasai knew Arabic, Saidi 'Ali Ghithayu'd-din and the crew of the ship dressed themselves like Arabs. He then went aboard the ship and when all her equipment was ready he sailed for Shahru'n-nuwi. And when in due course they came to Shahru'n-nuwi, Saidi 'Ali Ghithayu'd-din went ashore and presented himself before the Raja, taking with him as a gift to the king a tree (that he had) made of gold, its fruit being precious stones of various kinds, to the value†¹¹⁹ of about a *bhara** of gold. When the Raja of Shahru'n-nuwi beheld the present, he asked, "What is†¹²⁰ it that you desire of me?" And Saidi 'Ali Ghithayu'd-din and his companions answered, "We desire nothing†¹²¹." And the king was astonished at the present and thought to himself, "What can†¹²² it be that these men want of me that they should give me such a present?" And the men of Pasai returned to their ship.

A day or two later the master of the ship again came ashore (with his companions?) and they presented themselves before the Raja of Shahru'n-nuwi taking with them as a present a golden chess-board with jewelled chess-men, to the value†¹²³, as in the former case, of a *bhara* of gold. And the Raja of Shahru'n-nuwi said, "What†¹²⁴ is it that you desire of me, that I may give it to you?" And they replied, "We desire nothing," and returned to their ship. After a few days the season came for the return voyage and Saidi 'Ali Ghithayu'd-din began to set the ship's gear in order for the voyage. He and his companions then presented themselves before the Raja of Shahru'n-nuwi, taking with them as gifts a pair of ducks, male and female, made of gold and studded with jewels, to the value of about a *bhara* of gold, together with a deep bowl made of gold and filled with water. The two ducks were then released into the golden bowl, where they swam, dived and chased one another. And the Raja of Shahru'n-nuwi was amazed at the sight of these magic ducks, and he said, "Now tell me the truth, what is it that you want? By the God whom I worship I will refuse you nothing that you desire."

Thereupon Saidi 'Ali Ghithayu'd-din answered, "If your Highness will graciously grant us this boon, we crave from your Highness the man who tends†¹²⁵ your fowls." And the Raja of Shahru'n-nuwi said, "He is the Raja of Pasai; as you have asked for him, I will give him to you." And they replied, "It is because he is a Muslim that we crave him from your Highness." And the Raja of Shahru'n-nuwi granted Sultan Maliku'l-Tahir to Saidi 'Ali Ghithayu'd-din, who took him to the ship. And when they

*? 400 lbs. See note.

[77—78] had gone aboard, they lustrated him and arrayed him as a Raja. And a breeze sprang up, the anchor was weighed and the ship sailed for Semudra, where they arrived after a voyage of some days.

To return now to Raja Maliku'l-Mansur at Semudra. One day he said to Saidi Asmayu'd-din, "I should like to visit my elder brother and see how he fares." And Saidi Asmayu'd-din answered, "I pray your Highness, go not. There may be trouble†¹²⁶." In vain however did Saidi Asmayu'd-din try to dissuade Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur, the king turned a deaf ear. So Saidi Asmayu'd-din said no more and ordered a proclamation to be made, thus "Be it known that Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur proposes to proceed on a visit to the city of his brother." But Saidi Asmayu'd-din did not approve, for he was an old minister and of wide experience and he realised that trouble was inevitable. Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur however persisted and he proceeded on a tour of Pasai until finally he entered the palace of Sultan Maliku'l-Tahir. Conceiving a passion for one of the women attendants he carried her off and brought her back to his palace. Then he said to Saidi Asmayu'd-din, "Alas, my friend, something that was too difficult for me has come upon me. Conquered by my fleshly lusts my discretion vanished. What I have done has been my ruin, my fleshly lusts were too strong for me." And Saidi Asmayu'd-din answered, "God's holy will for his creatures has†¹²⁷ been done." Then there came news†¹²⁸ of Sultan Maliku'l-Tahir who was reported to be at Jambu Ayer, and news of (the wrong) Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur (had done) reached Sultan Maliku'l-Tahir, who thereupon harboured malice against his brother though he disclosed it to no one. And Sultan Maliku'l-Tahir sent a message to Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur asking him to welcome†¹²⁹ him (?). Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur accordingly left Semudra and went down to the mouth of the river. Meanwhile Sultan Maliku'l-Tahir landed from the Ketui river and went overland to his palace. Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur then returned to Semudra, reflecting on what he had done and what had happened in consequence of his refusal to follow the advice of Saidi Asmayu'd-din, though repentance was now of no avail. But the heart of Sultan Maliku'l-Tahir had been moved against Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur.

Sultan Maliku'l-Tahir had a son named Sultan Ahmad who at the time of Sultan Maliku'l-Tahir's captivity was still a child but had grown up by the time his father came back from Shahru'n-nuwi. Now Saidi 'Ali Ghithayu'd-din had retired and was succeeded as chief minister by Tun Perpatch Tulus Tukang Sekarai, his son-in-law. One day Sultan Maliku'l-Tahir said to Perpatch Tulus Tukang Sekarai, "What think you should be done in the matter of (the conduct of?) Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur?" And Perpatch Tulus Tukang Sekarai answered, "There is a plan for

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[78—79] us.” And Sultan Maliku’l-Tahir said, “What if Sultan Maliku’l-Mansur should die?” And Tun Perpatih Tulus Tukang Sekarai replied, “If Sultan Maliku’l-Mansur dies, then I†¹³⁰ am no tukang*! Let us have your Highness’ son Sultan Ahmad circumcised and invite Sultan Maliku’l-Mansur to the ceremony. That will be the moment to put†^{130a} our plan into effect.”

So Sultan Maliku’l-Tahir gave orders for the city and the hall of audience to be decorated, and he initiated the day and night festivities for the ceremony. And Sultan Maliku’l-Mansur arrived, whereupon Sultan Maliku’l-Tahir gave orders for him and Saidi Asmayu’d-din to be admitted to the palace, his war-chiefs however to†¹³¹ remain outside. He then ordered the arrest of Sultan Maliku’l-Mansur and Saidi Asmayu’d-din, and he ordered one of his war-chiefs to take Sultan Maliku’l-Mansur to Manjong†¹³². The king then said to Saidi Asmayu’d-din, “Stay here and go not with Sultan Maliku’l-Mansur. Attempt to go with him and I’ll have your head cut off!” To which Saidi Asmayu’d-din replied, “Better the head should part company with the body than a servant part company with his master!” Sultan Maliku’l-Tahir then ordered Saidi Asmayu’d-din to be beheaded, his head to be cast into the sea and his body to be impaled at Kuala Pasai.

Now Sultan Maliku’l-Mansur was taken by ship towards the east, and when they had come in the direction of Jambu Ayer heading eastward the shipmaster beheld a human head fouling the rudder. Sultan Maliku’l-Mansur was informed and he ordered the head to be recovered. And he saw that it was the head of Saidi Asmayu’d-din. And the king looked towards the land and asked, “What†¹³³ plain is this?” And to this day the place is known as Padang Maya (what plain). Then Sultan Maliku’l-Mansur went ashore on this†¹³⁴ plain and he sent a messenger to crave from Sultan Maliku’l-Tahir the corpse of Saidi Asmayu’d-din. And Sultan Maliku’l-Tahir gave the corpse to Sultan Maliku’l-Mansur who buried it at Padang Maya with the head and then went on to Manjong. After the departure of Sultan Maliku’l-Mansur, the ceremony of the circumcision of Sultan Ahmad was performed by his father.

After Sultan Maliku’l-Mansur had been three years at Manjong, one day Sultan Maliku’l-Tahir suddenly bethought him of his brother Sultan Maliku’l-Mansur, and he said, “To think what a fool†¹³⁵ I have been! Just because of a woman I have dethroned my brother and killed his minister!” And the king repented bitterly; and he ordered his war-chiefs to take a number of ships and bring†¹³⁶ his brother from Manjong. (This they did)

* Craftsman.

[79—80] and Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur was brought back in state. And when they came to Padang Maya, Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur stopped there and went ashore to visit the grave of Saidi Asmayu'd-din. And the king greeted him, saying, "Peace be with you, old friend. Farewell to you here, for my brother has sent for me and I must go." And Saidi Asmayu'd-din answered from the tomb, "Why, whither would your Majesty go? This is where we should be, you and I." When Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur heard these words, he took the water for prayers and said two prayers of greeting. And when he had prayed, he stretched himself upon the ground beside Saidi Asmayu'd-din's tomb. And the thread of his life snapped and he died. Word was brought to Sultan Maliku'l-Tahir of the death of his brother at Padang Maya beside the tomb of Saidi Asmayu'd-din. And forthwith the king set out to visit his brother; and when he was come to Padang Maya he buried the body of Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur with all the solemnity that is due to great Rajas. And he returned to Pasai sad at heart. Then he abdicated, after making Sultan Ahmad, his son, Raja in his stead.

And after a while Sultan Maliku'l-Tahir fell sick. And he gave his dying injunction to his son Sultan Ahmad, saying, "My son, light of my eyes and heart of my heart, disregard not the words of your servants in any matter of yours. Take counsel with your ministers and let not your heart be swift to anger. Be on your guard against aught that is dishonourable. Make not light of your duties to Almighty God, and lay not your hand wrongfully on the goods of others." And Sultan Ahmad wept at this the last injunction of his father. And after a few days Sultan Maliku'l-Tahir died and was buried by his son near the mosque. And Sultan Ahmad came to the throne.

Now there was a man of Pasai called Tun Jana Khatib. And he went to Singapura. And when he was come to Singapura, he walked through the streets accompanied by Tuan (?) di-Bungoran and Tuan di-Selangor. And it happened that as he was walking past the palace of the Raja of Singapura, the queen was looking out of the window and Tun Jana Khatib saw her. Now there was a betel-palm growing beside the palace, and Tun Jana Khatib cast a spell on it and it turned into two palms. And when Paduka Sri Maharaja saw what had happened he was very angry and said, "That's the sort of man Tun Jana Khatib is! No sooner does he know that the queen is looking at him than he shews off his powers!" And the king ordered him to be put to death. So Tun Jana Khatib was taken to the place of execution, near which was a man making cakes. And when Tun Jana Khatib was stabbed by the executioner, his blood dripped to the ground, though his body was spirited^{†137} to Langkawi. And the cake-maker clapped the lid of his pan down over a clot of Tun

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[80—81] Jana Khatib's blood, which turned into stone and is there to this day.

And after a while Singapura was attacked by swordfish, which leapt upon any one who was on the sea shore. If they attacked the victim in the chest, he was pierced through the chest and died: if they attacked the victim's neck, his head rolled off his shoulders and he died: and if they attacked the victim in the waist, he was pierced through the waist and died. So great was the number of those killed by the swordfish that there was a panic and people ran hither and thither crying, "The swordfish are come to attack us! They have killed thousands of our people!" And Paduka Sri Maharaja went forth on his elephant escorted by his ministers†^{137a} war-chiefs, courtiers and heralds. And when he reached the sea shore he was astounded to see the havoc the swordfish had wrought; how not a victim of their attack had escaped; how those who had been stabbed rolled†^{137b} over and over and died; and how the number of victims was ever mounting. And he ordered all his men to (stand side by side so as to) form a barricade of their shins, but the swordfish leapt upon them and any one they stabbed met†¹³⁸ his death. Like rain came the swordfish and the men they killed were past numbering.

Presently a boy was heard to say, "What are we making this barricade of our legs for? Why are we deceiving ourselves? If we made a barricade of banana stems, would not that be better?" And when Paduka Sri Maharaja heard this he said, "That boy is right!", and he commanded his men to build a barricade of banana stems. And the swordfish came on; but as soon as they leapt, their snouts stuck on the banana stems, where they were cut†¹³⁹ down and killed in numbers past counting, and that was the end of the swordfish attack.

Paduka Sri Maharaja then returned to the palace and his chiefs said to him, "Your Highness, that boy will grow into a very clever man. It would be as well to be rid of him!" And the king agreed and ordered the boy to be put to death. But when this boy was executed the guilt of his blood†¹⁴⁰ was laid on Singapura.

When Paduka Sri Maharaja had reigned†¹⁴¹ for twelve years and six months he died and was succeeded on the throne by his son, Sri Sultan Iskandar Shah. He married a daughter of Tun Perpatih Tulus, and by her he had a son, Raja Kechil Besar as he was called. Now there was a certain Treasury officer of the king's who held the title of Sang Ranjuna Tapa and was†¹⁴² a Singapura man. He had a very beautiful daughter who was the king's mistress and a great favourite of his. But the rest of the king's womenfolk spoke ill of her and accused her of

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[81—82] misconduct. And Sultan Iskandar Shah was very angry and ordered her to be publicly exposed†¹⁴³ at one†^{143a} end of the market. But Sang Ranjuna Tapa felt himself deeply humiliated by this treatment of his daughter and said, "Even if my daughter is guilty of misconduct, let her merely be put to death, why humiliate her like this?" And he sent a letter to Java saying, "If the Batara of Majapahit wishes to attack Singapura, he should come forthwith as I am ready to give him assistance from within the city." And when the Batara of Majapahit heard what was in the letter of the Treasury officer of the Raja of Singapura he forthwith ordered a fleet of three hundred ships to be made ready, together with countless galleys, commissariat craft and dug-outs, and a force of two hundred thousand†¹⁴⁴ Javanese fighting men. And the expedition set out†¹⁴⁵; and when it reached Singapura battle was engaged with the men of Singapura. After the battle had lasted for some days Sultan Iskandar Shah ordered the Treasury to issue rice for the provisioning of the troops, but Sang Ranjuna Tapa replied that there was no rice left; for he was going to turn traitor. And at dawn Sang Ranjuna Tapa opened the gate of the fort, whereupon the Javanese entered and fought with the men of Singapura inside the fort. So many were killed on either side that blood flowed like a river in spate and flooded the fort of Singapura on the sea shore, and that was the blood which exists to this day on the plain of Singapura. And the men of Singapura were defeated, and Sultan Iskandar Shah fled, going by way of Saletar and thence to Muar. By the will of Almighty God the house of Sang Ranjuna Tapa and his wife was turned into rock, and that is the rock which exists to this day in the moat of Singapura. After the Javanese had conquered Singapura they returned to Majapahit.

And Sultan Iskandar Shah came to Muar, where he took up his abode at a certain place. As soon as night had fallen a vast horde of monitor-lizards came, and when day dawned the place was seen to be covered with them. People killed them and threw them into the sea, though they ate some. That night however the monitor-lizards came again in great masses and the following night they came again. And so great was the stench there that to this day the place is known as Biawak Busok.

And Sultan Iskandar Shah moved from there and went on to another place. There he had a fort built, but by the night of the very day on which it was built the fort had fallen into decay. Wherefore the place is known as Kota Burok to this day. And Sultan Iskandar moved on again up the coast until presently he struck inland and came after a few days to Sëning Ujong. And perceiving that this was a good place he left a minister there—which†^{145a} is why the place has a minister to this day—and from there he went straight†^{145b} back to the sea shore,

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[82—83] to a river called Bertam. And as the king, who was hunting, stood under a tree, one of his hounds was kicked by a white mouse-deer. And Sultan Iskandar Shah said, "This is a good place, when even its mouse-deer are full of fight! We shall do well to make a city here." And the chiefs replied, "It is indeed as your Highness says." Thereupon Sultan Iskandar Shah ordered that a city be made, and he asked, "What is the name of the tree under which I am standing?" And they all answered, "It is called *Malaka*, your Highness"; to which he rejoined, "Then *Malaka* shall be the name of this city."

And Sultan Iskandar Shah took up his abode at *Malaka*, where he established a system of court ceremonial. It was he who first instituted the appointment of four ministers who were to sit in the hall of audience and hold^{†146} inquiries; and the appointment of heralds^{†147} who were to stand on the steps leading up to the throne, forty on either side, and transmit any command given by the king; and the appointment of youths of good family as pages, their duty being to act as bearers of the Raja's personal requisites^{†148}.

Now as for Sultan Iskandar Shah, when he had just completed three years on the throne, *Singapura* fell to the Javanese and he went to *Malaka*, where he was established as Raja for twenty years. And after he had ruled in all for twenty-five years, then in the process of time he died and was succeeded on the throne by his son Raja *Kechil Besar* with the title of Sultan *Megat*.

Now *Tun Perpatih Tulus* had died and his son became *Bendahara*. Sultan *Megat* married his daughter and by her had three sons, *Radin Bagus*, *Radin Tengah* and *Radin Anum*. And after he had reigned for two years Sultan *Megat* died and was succeeded by his son *Raja Tengah*, who had married a daughter of *Tun Perpatih Muka Berjajar* and by her had a son named *Raja Kechil Bambang*. After *Raja Tengah* had been some while on the throne, he shewed in the treatment of his subjects such justice that no other Raja of his time in this world could equal him.

One night the king had a dream. He dreamt that he saw clearly our Prophet Muhammad (God's Chosen, may God bless him and give him peace): and the Apostle of God (may God bless him and give him peace) said to *Raja Tengah*, "Say 'I testify that there is no god but God and that Muhammad is the Apostle of God'." And *Raja Tengah* repeated word for word what the Apostle of God (may God bless him and give him peace) had told him: whereupon the Apostle of God (may God bless him and give him peace) said to him, "Your name is Muhammad.

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[83—84] To-morrow, when it is the time for the afternoon prayer, there will come hither a ship from Juddah; and from that ship a man will land on this shore of Malaka. See to it that you do whatsoever he tells you." And Raja Tengah answered "Very well", whereupon the Prophet of God (may God bless him and give him peace) disappeared from his sight.

Then†¹⁴⁹ day broke and Raja Tengah awoke from sleep; and he saw that he had been circumcised. And he kept continually repeating, "I testify that there is no god but God and that Muhammad is the Apostle of God," to the astonishment of all the women-attendants of the palace. And the king's ministers said, "Is this Raja of ours possessed†¹⁵⁰ by the devil or is†¹⁵¹ he mad? We had better inform the Bendahara†¹⁵² straightaway." So the women-attendants went and informed the Bendahara. And the Bendahara came; and he went into the royal apartments where he found the Raja still repeating continually, "I testify that there is no god but God and that Muhammad is the Apostle of God.

And the Bēndahara said, "What language is this that you are talking, Sire†^{153?}" And the Raja answered. "Last night I had a dream and in that dream I clearly saw the Lord Prophet (may God bless him and give him peace)"; and he told the Bendahara all that he had dreamt. And the Bendahara said, "If your dream was true, Sire, what is there to prove it?" And the Raja answered, "The fact that I am circumcised. That proves the truth of my dream about the Apostle of God (may God bless him and peace). And the Apostle of God said to me, "This afternoon†¹⁵⁴, at the time of the 'asar prayers, a ship will arrive from Juddah and from that ship a man will land and say prayers on this Malaka shore. Do as he bids you!" Then said the Bendahara, "If a ship does arrive at the time of the 'asar prayers, then your dream will be true, Sire. If no ship comes, then of a surety it is the devil†^{153a} plaguing you!" And the Raja said, "I agree." The Bendahara then returned to his house.

And when it was the hour of 'asar, a ship arrived from Juddah and proceeded to anchor. And from this ship a Makhdum disembarked, Saiyid 'Abdu'l-'Aziz†¹⁵⁵ by name, and then prayed on the shore. And all who saw him were astonished at his behaviour and said, "What means this bobbing up and down?" And there was a general scramble to see him, the people crowding together so thickly that there was not a space between one man and another and there was such a disturbance that the noise of it came to the ears of the Raja inside the royal apartments of the palace. And straightaway the Raja set forth on his elephant escorted by his chiefs and he perceived that the Makhdum's behaviour in saying his prayers was exactly as in his dream.

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[84—85] And he said to the Bendahara and the chiefs, "That is exactly how it happened in my dream!"

And when Makhdum Saiyid 'Abdu'l-Aziz had finished his prayers, the Raja made his elephant kneel and he mounted the Makhdum on the elephant and took him to the palace. And the Bendahara^{†156} and the chiefs embraced Islam; and every citizen of Malaka, whether of high or low degree, was commanded by the Raja to do likewise. As for the Raja himself, he received instruction in the Faith from Makhdum Saiyid 'Abdu'l-Aziz, and he took the title of Sultan Muhammad Shah. The Bendahara was given the title of Sri Amar 'diraja and Tun Perpatih Besar was made Treasurer, with the title of Sri Nara 'diraja. [He had a daughter named Tun Rana Sandari]. Sultan Muhammad Shah then established the ceremonial of the court.

It was he^{†157} who first instituted royal privileges in regard to yellow, viz. that it could not be worn by commoners or used for cloths, for curtain fringes, for bolster ends, for mattresses or for any kind of wrapping. "You may not use it for stringing jewels, for the adornment of your houses or for any other purpose." It was only for three things, viz. sarongs, jackets and handkerchiefs that it could be used. It was also a royal privilege to have enclosed verandahs, pillars that hung down not reaching to the ground, posts that went right up to the roof-beam or summer-houses, while on boats only royalty could have windows and reception cabins. In regard to umbrellas white was more strictly a royal privilege than yellow, for white umbrellas were reserved for rulers while yellow umbrellas could be used by princes. Commoners might not have metal casing on the sheath of the creese, whether covering it entirely or even going only half way up the sheath. Nor was it permitted to any commoner, however high his rank, to wear anklets of gold: even with silver knobs gold anklets were a royal privilege. Any one who disobeyed this ordnance was guilty of *lese majesté* and the penalty was death. No one who possessed gold, however rich he might be, was permitted to wear it unless^{†158} it was a present from the Raja, when he might wear it in perpetuity. No person, whoever he might be, might enter the palace without wearing his sarong in the overlap (?)^{†159} fashion, his creese in front^{†160} and a scarf over his shoulders. Any one wearing his creese behind would have it confiscated by the gate-keeper. The penalty^{†161} for disobedience of this order was death.

When the king gave audience, principal ministers, senior war-chiefs and courtiers occupied^{†162} the body^{†163} of the hall of audience: princes of the blood royal occupied the gallery on the left and knights the gallery on the right: heralds and young war-chiefs stood at the foot^{†164} of the dais bearing swords, the heralds

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[85] on the left being descendants of ministers eligible for the appointments of Bendahara†¹⁶⁵, Treasurer or Temenggong, and the chief herald†¹⁶⁶ on the right being descended from a war-chief eligible for the appointment of Laksamana or Sri Bija 'diraja: he who bore the title of Sang Guna was Laksamana-designate: and he who bore the title of Tun Pikrama was Bendahara-designate. At the paying of homage the chief of the four or five heralds†¹⁶⁷ took precedence of the courtiers who sat in the body of the audience hall and of everybody except principal ministers. Cham†¹⁶⁸ shipmasters of high standing and young nobles (who held no office) occupied the balcony of the hall of audience. The Raja's personal requisites†¹⁶⁹, such as his cuspidore, goglet and fan [and shield and bow] were put in the passage, though the betel set was placed in the gallery. The sword of state was borne by the Laksamana or the Sri Bija 'diraja, whose position was in the gallery on the left. If envoys†¹⁷⁰ came, the letter was received by the chief herald on the right, while the Raja's reply to the envoys was announced by the herald on the left. The ceremonial prescribed for the arrival or departure of envoys was that a large tray and a salver were to be brought in by a slave from the palace; and the large tray was to be received by the herald on the right and set down as near to the throne as the Bendahara's seat. The shoulder-cloth and the salver were given to the bearer of the letter. If it was a letter from Pasai (or from Haru ?) it was received with full†¹⁷¹ ceremonial equipment (? big drum,) trumpet, kettledrums and two white†^{171a} umbrellas side by side and the elephant was brought alongside one end of the audience hall. For the Rajas of those two†¹⁷² countries (Pasai and Haru) were regarded as equal (to the Raja of Malaka in greatness) and however†¹⁷³ they (the three) might stand to each other in point of age, it was 'greetings' (not 'obeisance') they sent to each other. To a letter from any other state less respect was accorded, only the big drum, the clarionet and a yellow umbrella being used. The letter was borne on elephant†^{173a} or on horseback as circumstances might demand, and it was taken down (from the elephant or horse as the case might be) outside the outer gate. If (it was a letter from) a Raja of some standing, the trumpet might be used and two umbrellas, one white and one yellow, and the elephant made to kneel outside the inner gate.

Foreign envoys, even†¹⁷⁴ those from Rekan, were given robes of honour on departure, as were our own envoys when departing on a mission.

For the installation of a chief the Raja would give an audience such as was customary on the arrival of an envoy. The man to be installed was fetched†¹⁷⁵ from his house with due ceremony. If he was of the standing of a chief, he was fetched by some one of

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[85—86] high degree; if he was of lesser status, by a man of medium standing. If he was of the rank to be borne by elephant he was brought by†¹⁷⁶ elephant: if he was of the rank to be borne by horse, he was brought on horseback. If he was not of the rank to be borne by horse, he came on foot, with umbrella, drum and clarionet. As regards the umbrella however, some were entitled to have a green umbrella, some a blue, some a red. The highest grade was the yellow, as yellow umbrellas are the umbrellas of princes and major chiefs, while a purple or red umbrella is that of courtiers, heralds and war-chiefs. A blue umbrella could be used by any one who was being installed.

When the man who was to be installed arrived, he was halted and the *chiri*§ was read by an officer of the court before the Raja. After it had been read it was taken outside, to be received by one of the relatives of the man who was being installed: he wore the shoulder-cloth. Then the officer who read the *chiri* (before the Raja) put it†¹⁷⁷ on the head of the man who was being installed, and the latter was brought into the hall of audience, where a mat was laid for him at such place as the Raja wished, so that thereafter that should be his place in the hall. Robes of honour were then brought. If it was a Bendahara (who was being installed) five trays were used for the robes of honour: the jacket was laid on one†¹⁷⁸, the headkerchief on another, the scarf on another, the waistband on another and the sarong on another. In the case of a prince or a minister or a knight, there were only four trays, the waistband being omitted. For a herald, courtier or war-chief there were three trays only—one for the sarong, one for the jacket and the third for the headkerchief together with the scarf. Some were entitled to two trays only, one for the sarong and the other for the jacket and the headkerchief. In some cases all the articles of raiment were put on one tray, while in others there was no tray at all and the sarong, jacket and headkerchief were just heaped together and borne on the raised and upturned hands of the slave who carried them. When they reached the man who was being installed, he folded his arms round them and took them outside. The procedure was the same in regard to robes of honour for envoys, each envoy being treated according to his rank.

When the robes of honour were brought, the man to be installed went out and put them on. He then came in again and was invested with frontlet and armlets, for any one installed wore armlets, but they varied with rank: some had armlets with dragon and clasp, some had jewelled armlets, some had armlets with clasp only, some had armlets made in the shape of aroid fronds, some had armlets of silver. When that had been done, the man who was being installed did homage and then went

§ Formula of investiture.

[86—87] home, escorted either by the man who had fetched him or by some one else of appropriate rank. He was taken home in procession: in some cases the only instruments used were the drum and clarionet, in others the trumpet was added, and in yet other cases there were the kettledrums and white umbrellas as well, though in former days it cost money to get white umbrellas and kettledrums; even yellow umbrellas and trumpets were hard to procure.

If the Raja left the palace, on days that the litter was used the Treasurer held the head of the litter, with the Temenggong holding it on the right and the Laksamana†¹⁷⁹ on the left, while the rear end of the litter was held by the two chief heralds. Opposite the chain near the Raja's knee the Laksamana (sic) held the litter on the right and the Sri Bija 'diraja held it on the left. Heralds and war-chiefs marched in front of the litter, each carrying the insignia assigned to him. The regalia were borne by men marching in front of the Raja; and there was one state lance on the right and one on the left. In front†¹⁸⁰ of the Raja went.....the heralds bearing the swords of state (and ?) in front (of them ?) those who carried spears. What was called the 'standard'†¹⁸¹ was in front of the Raja, as were the drums and kettledrums on the Raja's right and the trumpets on his left. For in a procession the right ranked higher than the left, whereas in regard to seating the left ranked higher than the right, which applied also when an audience was given. (In a procession), of those who marched in front of the Raja it was those of lower rank who led the way. In front of all went the lances and pennons followed by the musical instruments of every description. Behind the Raja went the Bendahara with the chief ministers and judges.

If the Raja went by elephant, the Temenggong rode on the elephant's head, while the Laksamana or Sri Bija 'diraja, bearing the sword of state, rode on the croup. At courts†¹⁸² when the drum of sovereignty was beaten the major chiefs were on the left of the drum and the minor chiefs on the right. The *sireh** at such a court was given in the following order; first, members of the ruling house; then (the Bendahara†¹⁸³ ?; then) the Treasurer, then the Temenggong; then the four chief ministers; then the Laksamana; then the Sri Bija 'diraja; then the principal courtiers; then the knights. But it was only if the Bendahara was present that *sireh* was given: if he was not present the *sireh nobat* was not given even though members of the ruling house were there.

If royal celebrations†¹⁸⁴ were being held, it was the Treasurer who was master of ceremonies and directed the laying of mats in the hall†¹⁸⁵ of audience, the decoration of the inner hall and

* betel-leaf.

[87—88] the hanging of ceiling-cloths. He inspected the food that was to be served and gave orders†¹⁸⁶ for the proclaiming of people by name and summoning them to the throne. For all servants and clerks of the Raja were under the Treasurer's control. Under him too were the Shahbandar and all those in charge of the revenues of the state. It was the Treasurer too who gave orders for the summoning of people, while it was the Temenggong†¹⁸⁷ who arranged the guests for feeding†¹⁸⁸ in the inner hall. There were not more than four people to a dish, and this applied from the top downwards. If one of the four to share the dish was missing, three were left to share it: if there were two missing, two remained to share the dish: and if there were three missing, the one man had the dish to himself. People from below could not be brought up to fill missing places; still less†¹⁸⁹ could people from above be moved down for that purpose. But ceremonial custom prescribed that the Bendahara should have a dish to himself or share one with†^{189a} members of the ruling house. Thus was the ceremonial custom in the days of (the) Malacca (sultanate). And there is much more that could be told; but to go into every detail would be bewildering to the listener.

For the festival of the night of the twenty-seventh†¹⁹⁰ of Ramdhan the following was the procedure. While it was still day the (? Laksamana†^{189b} took the) royal praying-mat in procession to the mosque, the Temenggong sitting on the head of the elephant. To the mosque too were taken the betel bowl and other personal requisites of the Raja, and the drums (?)†¹⁹¹. Then when night had fallen, the Raja proceeded to the mosque, the ceremonial being as for the days when the Raja assisted at the evening prayers, followed by the special vespers, of the fasting month. When the prayers were concluded the Raja returned to the palace. On the following day the Laksamana took the royal turban in procession, for it was the custom that Malay Rajas going to the mosque should wear the turban†¹⁹² and the cassock. These were the privilege of royalty and could not be worn for weddings except by special permission of the Raja, when they might be worn. Similarly dressing in the Kalinga fashion for weddings or Hari Raya prayers was permitted (? only) to those whose national dress such apparel was.

On the lesser Hari Raya or the greater, the Bendahara and the chiefs went into the palace, and the royal litter was brought into the palace domain in procession from the house†¹⁹³ of the Treasurer. As soon as they saw the litter taken into the palace all those in the audience hall came out. The Raja†¹⁹⁴ then appeared and was taken in procession, mounted on an elephant, to the royal dais, which he ascended. When the people saw the Raja, they all sat on the ground and the litter was brought

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[88] alongside the dais. The Bendahara†¹⁹⁵ thereupon ascended†¹⁹⁶ the dais to conduct the Raja to the litter, which he mounted, and he was then borne to the mosque, with the procedure already described. That was the approved ceremonial. If there are errors in the description, it is the duty of anyone who remembers the history to correct them; and your humble servant trusts that he will not incur censure.

Throughout his long reign Sultan Muhammad Shah shewed a high degree of justice in his treatment of his subjects, and Malaka became a great city. Strangers flocked thither and its territory stretched westward†¹⁹⁷ as far as Bruas Ujong and eastward as far as Trengganu Ujong Karang. And from below the wind to above the wind Malaka became famous as a very great city, the Raja of which was sprung from the line of Sultan Iskandar Dzu'l-Karnain: so much so that princes from all countries came to present themselves before Sultan Muhammad Shah, who treated them with due respect bestowing upon them robes of honour of the highest distinction together with rich presents of jewels, gold and silver.

God knoweth the truth. To Him do we return.

Chapter VII

The story of Mani Purindan of Pahili in Kalinga who leaves his home after a quarrel with his brother and decides to go to Malacca to do homage to the Raja.

Sultan Muhammad Shah dies after a reign of 57 years and is succeeded by his son Raja Ibrahim with the title of Sultan Abu Shahid: but the Raja of Rekan acts as regent until Raja Kasim, Sultan Abu Shahid's brother, seizes the throne. The Raja of Rekan is killed but before he dies he kills Sultan Abu Shahid. Raja Kasim becomes Sultan Muzaffar Shah, shews himself to be a wise and humane ruler and orders the making of a code of laws. Bendahara Sriwa Raja fancying that he has incurred the Sultan's displeasure takes poison.

(Shellabear, chapter XII).

Here now is the story of a city in Kalinga called Pahili, the Raja of which was called Nizamu'l-Muluk Akar Shah. He was a Muhammadan, in the Faith of Prophet Muhammad, the Apostle of God (may God bless him and give him peace): and he had three children, a daughter and two sons. The elder son was called Baginda Mani Purindan and the younger Raja Akar Muluk Shah. On the death of Raja Nizamu'l-Muluk Akar Shah, his younger son, Raja Akar Muluk Shah, succeeded to the throne†¹⁹⁸. And as he was dividing the inheritance with his brother and sister, in accordance with the law of Almighty God, they came to a†¹⁹⁹ *chuki*§ board which was made of gold and had jewelled pips, one set being of red gems and the other of green

§ A game resembling go bang (W.)

[88—89] gems. And Baginda Mani Purindan said to his brother, Raja Akar Muluk Padshah, "Let our sister have this *chuki* board, it is more suitable for her than for us." But Raja Akar Muluk Padsha answered, "I do not agree to that. I say that we should value the board, and if our sister wants it, she shall give us the price of it." And Baginda Mani Purindan felt himself humiliated by his brother's refusal to adopt his suggestion, and he thought to himself, "If in a trifling matter like this my brother won't accept what I suggest, how much the less will he do so in a matter of importance? If this is to be the case, I had better go into exile. Even if I stay here, it is not I but my brother who will be the ruler in this city. Can I do better than betake myself to Malaka, for the Raja of Malaka is the great Raja in these days and it is right that I should own him as my lord, for he is sprung from the line of Raja Iskandar Dzu'l-Karnain." When he was thus resolved Baginda Mani Purindan made ready a fleet of many ships and sailed for Malaka.

But when he reached Jambu Ayer a great storm arose and the ship of Baginda Mani Purindan foundered. He was pitched into the water and fell astride the back of a barracouta, which bore him rapidly to the shore. And when they struck the shore Baginda Mani Purindan caught^{†199a} hold of a gandasouli to help himself out of the water and landed. And that is why Baginda Mani Purindan forbade his descendants ever to eat barracouta or wear gandasouli flowers. Baginda Mani Purindan then went on to Pasai, where the Raja married him to his daughter: and it is from this line that the Rajas of Pasai are descended. [Sultan Khamis, father of Raja Suta whom Baginda Mani Purindan divorced, was related to the Malays].

And after he had spent some while in Pasai, Baginda Mani Purindan returned to Kalinga and had ships made ready. And when the sailing season arrived, Baginda Mani Purindan set sail for Malaka with his soldiers under the command of Khoja 'Ali and Tandil Muhammad and with five vessels accompanying him. And when they reached Malaka, Baginda Mani Purindan (forthwith presented himself before Sultan Muhammad Shah who gave him in the hall of audience the rank of a minister). He was then taken^{†200} as son-in-law by the Sri Nara 'diraja who married him to his daughter, Tun Ratna Sandari. By her Baginda Mani Purindan had two children; a son named Naina Madi and a daughter named Tun Rana Wati, who became the wife of Bendahara Sri Amar 'diraja and bore him a son called Tun 'Ali.

And Bendahara Sri Amar 'diraja returned to the Mercy of God and was succeeded as Bendahara by Perpateh Sandang with the title of Sriwa Raja. And the Sri Nara 'diraja died, where-

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[89—90] upon Tun 'Ali, son of Bendahara Sri Amar 'diraja by Tun Ratna Wati, daughter of Baginda Mani Purindan, became Treasurer with the title of Sri Nara 'diraja.

And Sultan Muhammad Shah married a princess of Rekan, by whom he had a son named Raja Ibrahim. By his other wife, the Bendahara's daughter, he also had a son, called Raja Kasim. The latter was older than Raja Ibrahim, but it was the desire of the queen that even so Raja Ibrahim should succeed his father, and Sultan Muhammad Shah acquiesced despite his fondness for Raja Kasim. Such was the deference that he paid to the queen's wishes that he was helpless, allowing Raja Ibrahim to do just as he pleased but chiding Raja Kasim if he took so much as a bit of sireh leaf from anyone. The people however hated Raja Ibrahim and liked Raja Kasim.

And the Raja of Rekan came to Malaka to present himself before the king, and he was treated with great distinction by Sultan Muhammad Shah because the queen was his relative, and he was given^{†201} the same precedence as the Bendahara in the hall of audience, though seated below him at table. Hence the Rekan war-chiefs said to their Raja, "How comes it that we are as fowls, sleeping on the roof but made to feed under the house? Far better were it that we take our leave of this place!" The Raja of Rekan then took his seat below the Bendahara, with the acquiescence of Sultan Muhammad Shah.

And after that, when Sultan Muhammad Shah had reigned for fifty-seven years, then in the process of time he left this perishable world to go to one that abideth: as it is written "To God we belong and to Him we return." And (after the death^{†202} of Sultan Muhammad Shah) his son, Raja Ibrahim, succeeded him upon the throne, with the title, as ruler, of Sultan Abu Shahid. The Raja of Rekan however acted as regent^{†203} for him and the city of Malaka was, as it were, ruled by the Raja of Rekan. Raja Kasim was commanded by the Raja of Rekan to take up his abode with a fisherman, and every day he went to sea to fish. Now that the Raja of Rekan was, as it were, ruler of Malaka, Sultan Abu Shahid being still a minor, the chiefs, ministers and war-chiefs assembled before the Bendahara to take counsel. And the ministers and war-chiefs said, "How stand we all? It seems that it is the Raja of Rekan who is our master, not Raja Abu Shahid!" And Bendahara Sriwa Raja answered, "What can we do? The Raja of Rekan never leaves our ruler's side!" And when they heard the words of the Bendahara the chiefs sat silent and then they departed each to his house. But the Sri Nara 'diraja pondered the matter in his heart, and he constantly invited Raja Kasim to his house and set food before him, for Raja Kasim was his cousin.

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[90—92]

And after a time a ship arrived from the regions above the wind. And when the ship had anchored the fish sellers all came to sell their fish to the crew. And Raja Kasim came selling fish like the other fishermen. Now there was aboard the ship a certain Maulana†²⁰⁴ called Maulana Jalalu'd-din who, when he saw Raja Kasim, bade him come aboard and treated him with†^{204a} every mark of respect. And when Raja Kasim asked, "Why do you treat me with such respect sir, seeing that I am only a fish seller selling fish?" Maulana Jalalu'd-din answered, "You are a son of the Raja in this city, and one of these days you will be Raja of Malaka!" And Raja Kasim said, "How am I to become Raja? If I had your spiritual power to help me, Maulana, I might become Raja." And the Maulana replied, "Go ashore, sir, and seek some one who can carry through this affair of yours: God willing, it will be successfully accomplished. But I ask you in return to promise that the princess whom the Raja of Rekan has taken as consort shall be given to me." And Raja Kasim said, "Very well—if I become Raja!" Then said the Maulana, "Hasten ashore, sir, and set to work this night, verily God Almighty is with you!" Raja Kasim then went ashore, thinking to himself, "Whither else should I go than to the Sri Nara 'diraja for he is my cousin and maybe will help me?" When he was thus resolved, Raja Kasim went to the Sri Nara 'diraja and told him what the Maulana had said. He then asked the Sri Nara 'diraja if he would help him to seize the throne. And the Sri Nara 'diraja replied that he would; whereupon they entered into a solemn pact and the Sri Nara 'diraja set about collecting supporters. (That night) Raja Kasim mounted the elephant "Juru Demang", with the Sri Nara 'diraja on the elephant's head: and the crew of the ship came ashore, every man fully armed. And the Sri Nara 'diraja said to Raja Kasim, "What think you should be done? For if the Bendahara is not on our side, we shall not succeed." And Raja Kasim said, "What think you then?" And when the Sri Nara 'diraja answered, "Let us go to the Bendahara!", Raja Kasim said, "Very well, I will do whatever you think best."

So Raja Kasim and the Sri Nara 'diraja went to the Bendahara. And when they came to the fence round the Bendahara's house, the Sri Nara 'diraja said, "Take word forthwith to Bendahara Sriwa Raja that the Ruler waits without." The Bendahara was immediately informed, and he left his house there and then, without his creese and only putting on his headkerchief as he came. It was a pitch dark night. When the Bendahara reached the foot of his stairs, the Sri Nara 'diraja made the elephant kneel and said, "Bendahara, the Raja bids you mount." The Bendahara mounted forthwith, and the elephant rose to his feet and set forward. When the Bendahara saw the gleam of many weapons and perceived that the Raja was not Sultan Abu Shahid, he could not believe his eyes. And the Sri Nara

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[92—93] 'diraja said to the Bendahara, "Raja Kasim means to kill the Raja of Rekan! What think you, sir?" The Bendahara could only reply, "Excellent†²⁰⁵! For Raja Kasim too has my allegiance and I have always†²⁰⁶ wanted to settle†^{206a} the account of the Raja of Rekan!" These words of the Bendahara gladdened the heart of Raja Kasim.

He thereupon proceeded to storm the palace. And there was great excitement as the tale went round, "Raja Kasim is storming the palace!" The principal chiefs, the lesser chiefs and the war-chiefs then came in quest of the Bendahara, and when they were told that he had gone with Raja Kasim, they thought to themselves, "This is the Bendahara's doing". So they all went to the Bendahara and joined Raja Kasim, for he was a general favourite. And resistance from within the palace was overpowered; but the Raja of Rekan never left the side of Sultan Abu Shahid. And the Sri Nara 'diraja said, "The Raja bids us seize Sultan Abu Shahid lest he be slain by the Raja of Rekan!" In vain went up the cry that the Raja of Rekan should not be stabbed; it was unheard in the general uproar†²⁰⁷, and the Raja of Rekan was stabbed to the heart. No sooner had he felt the wound than he stabbed Sultan Abu Shahid, who died a martyr's death. He had reigned for a year and five months.

On the Raja's death, Raja Kasim succeeded to the throne and was duly installed, with the title of Sultan Muzaffar Shah. The Maulana then asked for fulfilment of the promise made to him. The king accordingly gave orders for one of the women attendants, who was a pretty girl, to be decked out in finery, jewels and all; and she was given to the Maulana as the Rekan princess. Thinking that she was in fact the Rekan princess, the Maulana accepted her and took her away with him to the regions above the wind. When he had come to the throne Sultan Muzaffar Shah shewed himself to be a Raja of high character, just and humane, diligent in inquiry into the pleas of his people: and it was he who ordered the compilation†^{207a} of a code of laws in order that there should henceforward be uniform justice in the decisions of his ministers. As for the Sri Nara 'diraja, he became a great favourite of the Raja who never opposed any thing that he said or asked. And Sultan Muzaffar Shah took as his consort the daughter of Radin†^{207b} Anum; by her he had a son who was very handsome and was given the name of Raja 'Abdul.

It happened one day that Sultan Muzaffar Shah was giving an audience and it had lasted so long a time before the Bendahara arrived at the palace to present himself that Sultan Muzaffar Shah retired, not knowing that the Bendahara had come: and as the Sultan went into the palace the door was slammed to by

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- [93]. the wind. Whereupon Bendahara Sriwa Raja thought to himself, "I have incurred the Ruler's displeasure. No sooner do I appear than the Raja retires and the door is shut!" And he returned to his house and took poison, from which he died. Sultan Muzaffar Shah was forthwith informed that the Bendahara had taken poison and was dead. And when he was told why the Bendahara had taken poison, he was overwhelmed with^{†207c} grief. And he went and buried the Bendahara with all the traditional ceremony: nor for seven days and seven nights did he allow the royal band^{†208} to play, as he mourned for the Bendahara. The king then appointed the Sri Nara 'diraja to be Bendahara. Now Bendahara Sriwa Raja had three children: the eldest was a girl and the younger two were both boys. The girl was called Tun Kudu: she was extremely beautiful and Sultan Muzaffar Shah married her. The second child was called Tun Perak and the youngest Tun Perpateh Puteh. Tun Perak was not given^{†209} any appointment at court, so he went away to Klang, where he married and settled down. And when after a while the people of Klang discarded their headman, they went and presented themselves before the Raja in Malaka to ask for another. And when Sultan Muzaffar Shah asked them whom they wanted, they replied, "If it please your Highness, it is Tun Perak that we crave should be given to us as our headman." Their request was granted and Tun Perak was made headman of Klang.

Chapter VIII

The Siamese attack Malacca but are defeated. Tun Perak's vigorous ripostes against Malacca criticisms of his conduct earn Sultan Muzaffar's approval and he is made Paduka Raja and told to live at Malacca. His quarrel with the Sri Nara 'diraja and how Sultan Muzaffar reconciled them. He is made Bendahara and is described as one of the three outstanding men of his time. The Siamese again attack and again the attack is repelled. Sultan Muzaffar then decides to try and make friends with Siam and sends Tun Telanai as envoy. The success of his mission.

(Shellabear, Chapter XIII)

Here now is the story of the Raja of Siam. From ancient times the country of Siam was known as Shahru'n-nuwi, and all princes of these regions below the wind were subject to Siam, the Raja of which was called the Bubunnya^{†210}. And when the news reached Siam that Malaka was a great city but was not subject to Siam, the Bubunnya sent an envoy to Malaka to demand a letter^{†211} of 'obeisance': but Sultan Muzaffar Shah refused to own allegiance to Siam. The Raja of Siam was very angry and ordered an expedition to be made ready for the invasion of Malaka. Awi Chakra^{†212} was to command the expedition and to take a vast army with him. And word was

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[93—94] brought to Sultan Muzaffar Shah that the Raja of Siam had ordered Awi Chakra, his war-chief, to lead an army, in numbers past counting, overland to Ulu Pahang.

When Sultan Muzaffar Shah heard this, he gave orders that all men of the outlying districts be assembled and come up river to Malaka. And all the men of the outlying districts foregathered in Malaka. Now Tun Perak had brought the men of Klang to Malaka with womenfolk accompanying them. And the men of Klang went to the Raja and told him what had happened, saying, "May it please your Highness, from the other districts are come to Malaka none but men, whereas Tun Perak has brought us with our women." When Sultan Muzaffar Shah heard the words of the men of Klang, he said to one of his heralds, Sri Amarat by name, "When^{†213} Tun Perak comes to the palace, tell him what the men of Klang have said." Now Sri Amarat was a Pasai man by origin and bore the name of Patch^{†214} Semudra, but because of his shrewdness and his clever tongue the Raja gave him the title of Sri Amarat^{†215}. And he had a heavy stool made for him which was placed at the Raja's knees. There Sri Amarat stood with his sword on his shoulder and it was he who communicated any command the Raja might have to give. Later Tun Perak came to present himself before the Raja, and the herald who bore the title of Sri Amarat said to him, "Tun Perak, the men of Klang have made representations to his Highness the Ruler that whereas in the case of other districts it is only men who have come hither to present themselves before the Raja, the men of Klang have been brought by you before the Raja accompanied by their womenfolk. Why have you behaved thus?" But Tun Perak made no answer; and even when Sri Amarat repeated his question, Tun Perak still made no answer. It was not until Sri Amarat had said his say a third time that Tun Perak made answer, thus:— "Sri Amarat, (the Ruler has appointed you to be a herald and has given you a sword;) that^{†216} sword it is your business to look after, that it may not rust or lose its edge. As for the affairs of me^{†217} and my men who are on duty, what should you know^{†218} about them? At the present time His Highness the Ruler here in this city has his consort with him and all that he requires. Is it right in your^{†219} judgment that we should come hither just we men by ourselves, with Klang so far away? If Malacca here is in trouble, what^{†220} will my men (far away in Klang) care? That is why I have brought the men of Klang along with their womenfolk so that they may battle against the enemy to the best of their powers. For they will be not so much fighting for his Highness the Ruler as using their spears with might and main for the sake of their womenfolk!" And Sultan Muzaffar Shah smiled when he heard the words of Tun Perak, and he said, "Tun Perak

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[94—95] is right.” And taking sireh from his bowl†²²¹ he gave it to Tun Perak, saying, “You are wasted at Klang, Tun Perak! You must come and live in the city.”

Meanwhile the men of Siam arrived, and they fought with the men of Malaka. After a long battle, in which many of the soldiers of the Raja of Siam were killed, Malaka still held out†²²² and the Siamese withdrew. On their retreat they flung†²²³ down in Ulu Muar the rattans they had used for tying their baggage. These rattans took root and grew, and they are there to this day, known as the rattans of the Siamese†^{223a}. Similarly the wood†²²⁴ they used for fetters took root and is growing to this day in Ulu Muar; as are the wooden rests for the cooking-places of the Siamese. And after the Siamese had gone back to their country, the men from the outlying districts of Malaka returned to their homes. But Tun Perak was not allowed by the Raja to go back to Klang and stayed on in Malaka.

Now there was a man of Klang who asserted that he had suffered some wrong at the hands of Tun Perak and he submitted a complaint to his Highness the Ruler. And Sultan Muzaffar Shah ordered Sri Amarat to tell Tun Perak, “This man has complained to His Highness the Ruler that he has, so he alleges, been wronged by you, Tun Perak.” But Tun Perak made no answer, and it was not until he had been spoken to three times that he replied, “Sri†²²⁵ Amarat, (you have been made a herald by the Ruler and have been given a sword) that same sword you treat with acid lest it lose its edge. As for the business of us who administer territory, what concern is that of yours? For territory is territory even if it is only the size of a coconut shell! What†^{225a} we think should be done we do, for the Ruler is not concerned with the difficulties we administrators encounter, he only takes account of the good results we achieve. But if His Highness the Ruler wishes to call†²²⁶ in question my conduct on the complaint of the man you speak of, let me first be dismissed from my†²²⁷ office in Klang and then let my conduct be called†²²⁸ in question. Is it right that that should be done, on the complaint of one†²²⁹ who is no better than a slave, until I have been dismissed?” Sultan Muzaffar Shah found Tun Perak’s reply to his liking and he said, “Tun Perak is wasted as a herald!” and he made him Paduka Raja with the same rank as the Sri Nara ‘diraja in the body of the hall of audience. The Sri Nara ‘diraja was by now an old man and his wife had borne him no child, though by a secondary wife he had a son named Tun Shahid Madi, whom however he refused to own. But when Tun Shahid Madi had grown up and had children and even grandchildren of his own, it happened that one day as the Sri Nara ‘diraja was seated

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[95—96] in his^{†230} hall receiving company, Tun Shahid Madi went past. The Sri Nara 'diraja called him and when he came seated him upon his knee and said to those present, "This is my son." To which they replied, "We all of us knew that, but as your Highness would not own him as your son, we were afraid to say that he was!" And the Sri Nara 'diraja smiled.

[Now Baginda Mani Purindan had returned to the Mercy of God, and he was succeeded by his son Naina Madi with the title of Tun Bijaya Maha Mentri.] When the Paduka Raja was made a major chief, the Malays were divided, some cleaving to the Paduka Raja and some to the Sri Nara 'diraja, both being equally men of old family. And there was discord^{†231} between the Sri Nara 'diraja and the Paduka Raja. Sultan Muzaffar Shah was aware of this and he set himself to effect a reconciliation between them. So he sent for the Sri Nara 'diraja; and when he appeared, he said to him, "Are you minded to take a new wife, Sri Nara 'diraja?" And the Sri Nara 'diraja answered, "If your Highness will give me one, yes, your Highness!" And the king asked, "Would you like Tun Kumalu?" "No, thank your Highness," replied the Sri Nara 'diraja. Then the king asked, "Would you like Tun Bulan, Orang Kaya Hitam's daughter?" And the Sri Nara 'diraja answered, "No, thank your Highness." And though Sultan Muzaffar Shah mentioned the daughters of any number of chiefs, none of them were to the Sri Nara 'diraja's liking and he still^{†231a} said "No, thank you." Finally Sultan Muzaffar Shah asked, "Would you like Tun Kudu^{†231b}, Sri Nara 'diraja?" Thereupon the Sri Nara 'diraja answered, "Your Majesty!" Now Tun Kudu, who was a sister of the Paduka Raja and a daughter of Bendahara Sriwa Raja, was still married to the Ruler. As soon therefore as the Sri Nara 'diraja said he would like Tun Kudu, the king divorced her there and then, and sent her to the Paduka Raja's house. But the Sri Nara 'diraja's people said to him, "How would you be taking to yourself a young wife, Datok? You're an old man now and your eyebrows have turned white!" To which he replied, "How^{†232} do you know (that I am too old to be marrying a young wife)? If it is as you say, my father got a bad bargain in the *chula* he paid a catty of gold for in Kalinga!" And when the period of Tun Kudu's *iddah* had expired, the Sri Nara 'diraja took her to wife. And the Sri Nara 'diraja was reconciled with the Paduka Raja and they became as fond of each other as twin brothers. And the Sri Nara 'diraja said to Sultan Muzaffar Shah, "Your Highness, it would be well to appoint the Paduka Raja to be Bendahara, son of a Bendahara as^{†233} he is." And the king agreed; and the Paduka Raja was made Bendahara.

* A talisman for increasing virility.

[96—97] It was Bendahara Paduka Raja who was accounted as an outstandingly able man: for at that time just as there were three cities of equal greatness, first Majapahit, second Pasai and third Malaka, so in those three cities there were three†²³⁴ outstanding men, the Aria Gajah Mada Majapahit, the Raja Kenayan in Pasai and Bendahara Paduka Raja in Malaka. [The Sri Nara 'diraja†²³⁵ was made Treasurer].

And after a while the Siamese (again)†²³⁶ attacked Malaka, under the command of Awi Dichu. And when the news of their coming reached Malaka, Sultan Muzaffar Shah commanded Bendahara Paduka Raja to make ready†²³⁷ a fleet to repel the attack, the Sri Bija 'diraja and war-chiefs to accompany him. [The Sri Bija 'diraja was of Malay descent; his name was Tun Hamzah and he was of the Muntah†²³⁸ Lembu stock. It was he who was known as the Chief with a Stoop. Whether he walked or sat down, it was always with a stoop: but let word come of an attack by a foe and he would straighten himself there and then. So strong and such a redoubtable fighter was he that he was made Sri Bija 'diraja and became principal war-chief, with precedence over all the other war-chiefs in the hall of audience]. When the fleet was ready, Bendahara Paduka Raja set out to repel the Siamese, and with him went the Sri Bija 'diraja and the war-chiefs. The Siamese by this time had almost reached Batu Pahat.

Now the Sri Bija 'diraja had a son named Tun 'Umar who was a great fighter and a man of reckless bravery. This Tun 'Umar was sent by Bendahara Paduka Raja to reconnoitre, and he set forth with a single boat, now edging forward, now coming back. And when he encountered the Siamese fleet, he straightway attacked and sank two or three Siamese ships, then shot off to their flank. Then he returned and attacked other ships, again sinking two or three, after which he withdrew. The Siamese were astounded. Then when night had fallen Awi Dichu advanced, and Bendahara Paduka Raja ordered fire-brands to be fastened to mangrove and†²³⁹ other trees growing along the shore. And when the Siamese saw these lights, so many that no man could number them, their war-chiefs said, "What a vast fleet these Malays must have, no man can count their ships! If they attack us, how shall we fare? Even one of their ships just now was more than a match for us!" And Awi Dichu replied, "You are right, let us return home!" Whereupon the Siamese returned to their country.

[It was the Siamese who hewed†^{239a} the well of Batu Pahat]. The retreating Siamese were pursued by Bendahara Paduka Raja as far as Singapore. He then returned to Malaka and related to

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[97—98] Sultan Muzaffar Shah all that had happened. And the king was well pleased and bestowed upon the Bendahara robes of honour complete with the finest accessories, and the Sri Bija 'diraja and the war-chiefs who accompanied Bendahara Paduka Raja all received rewards from Sultan Muzaffar Shah.

To return now to the Siamese on their retreat from Malaka. When they reached Siam, Awi Dichu went into the palace and presented himself before the Bubunnya, to whom he related all that had happened. The Bubunnya had a son named Chau Pandan and it was he who gave an undertaking to his father that he would conquer Malaka. The Bubunnya accordingly gave orders for an expedition to be fitted out to go to Malaka. Hence the verse†²⁴⁰

Chau Pandan, son of Siam's King,
Malaka purposed to invade;
Stones†^{240a} like flowers adorned his ring,
The flowers alas! of tears were made!

And the news reached Malaka that Chau Pandan, son of the Bubunnya, was to be sent by the king to invade Malaka. Now there was a certain Saiyid, a servant of God, living at Malaka at that time; and he was so fond of archery that wherever he went he took his bow with him. It happened that at the time (the news reached Malaka?) Sultan Muzaffar Shah was giving an audience at which all his chiefs were present, and this Saiyid was there also. When he heard the report about the Siamese, he drew his bow, in front of Sultan Muzaffar Shah, pointing it towards Siam; and as he shot the arrow he said, "Chau Pandan is†²⁴¹ dead!" At that moment Chau Pandan was still in Siam, when suddenly he felt as though he had been shot in the chest by an arrow; and he vomited blood and died. There was consequently no invasion of Malaka by the Siamese. And the news came to Malaka that Chau Pandan had died as though from an arrow wound in the chest. When Sultan Muzaffar Shah heard the report, he said, "The Saiyid spoke but the truth", and he rewarded the Saiyid.

And Sultan Muzaffar Shah said to his ministers, courtiers, heralds and officers, "What think you? Were it not better to send envoys to Siam? How much longer shall this feud with them continue?" And the chief minister answered, "What your Highness says is true. It is better to have many friends than many enemies." Sultan Muzaffar Shah then commanded†²⁴² Tun Telanai, son of Bendahara Paduka Raja, to go as envoy with Mentri Jana Putra as his supporter. Tun Telanai made ships ready accordingly. His fief was Shuir, which at that time had a fleet of twenty sail, three-masted cruisers. Hence the verse†²⁴³

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Guy-ropes, where are the halliards?
 They are still being tightenèd;
 Tun Telanai, where's your cargo?
 Lying still at Teakwood Head!

When the ships were ready, Sultan Muzaffar Shah said to Bendahara Paduka Raja and his ministers, "We desire that you compose our letter to Siam. It must neither be a letter of of obeisance^{†244} nor one of greetings nor one of friendship." When Bendahara Paduka Raja heard these words, he said to the officers of state, "You have heard the Raja's command; compose a letter accordingly!" But not one of them felt himself equal to the task. The Bendahara inquired of them all, even down^{†245} to those who carried the royal betel-bag and ewer, but none of them could do it. It was therefore the Bendahara himself who composed the letter, worded as follows:— "A struggle between us can only result in heavy loss of life; and although in such a struggle we have the greatest respect for the might of Lord Bubunnya, yet because of our confidence in his gracious consideration we send to him our envoys Tun Telanai and Mentri Jana Putra", with more in the same strain. Sultan Muzaffar Shah liked the wording of the letter and it was completed accordingly. It was then borne in procession by elephant, the elephant being brought alongside^{†246} the hall of audience. The letter was carried by a knight, on the head of the elephant was a herald and a minister acted as escort: and it was a procession in which two white umbrellas were carried, and the big drum, the clarionet and the trumpet of state were played. Tun Telanai and Mentri Jana Putra then did homage to the Raja and both were given robes of honour, after which they took their departure.

When they reached Siam, word was brought to the Bubunnya that envoys were come from Malaka. And the Bubunnya ordered that the letter they brought should be fetched with due ceremony from the ship and borne in^{†244a} procession. When the procession reached the hall of audience, the Bubunnya ordered his minister to read the letter; and when he heard how it was worded, he asked who had composed it. And Tun Telanai answered, "The Raja of Malaka's Prime Minister, your Highness." Lord Bubunnya then asked, "What is the name of the Raja of Malaka?" And Tun Telanai answered, "Sultan Muzaffar Shah." Whereupon the Bubunnya asked, "What is the meaning of Muzaffar Shah?" And when Tun Telanai made no answer, Mentri Jana Putra replied, "The meaning of Muzaffar Shah is 'he who is preserved by God from his enemies'." Then the Raja of Siam asked, "How was it that Malaka withstood the attack of Siam?" And Tun Telanai sent for a man of Suir (?Shuir), who was old and had elephantiasis in both legs, and he told him

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to shew his prowess with a spear in the presence of the Raja of Siam. The Suir man then hurled his spear into the air and placed his back in position to receive it: the spear fell on his back and bounced^{†247} off it without inflicting any wound. "There is the reason, your Highness," said Tun Telanai, "why Malaka withstood the attack of Siam: all the men of Malaka are^{†248} invulnerable!" And the Raja of Siam thought to himself, "That is the truth. If even a man^{†248a} of the people like this fellow is proof against wounds, what must be the invulnerability of their gentry!" Subsequently Lord Bubunnya set out to conquer a neighbouring country, taking with him Tun Telanai, Mentri Jana Putra and their followers. And he gave to them a place in the attack where the enemy was in strong force, but it happened that this place faced to the west. And Tun Telanai consulted with Mentri Jana Putra, saying, "What are we to do? We have been sent to a place where the enemy is strongest and there are only a handful of us!" And Mentri Jana Putra replied, "All we have to do is to present ourselves^{†249} before the Raja like heralds and prefer a request." So Tun Telanai and Mentri Jana Putra went to the Bubunnya and Mentri Jana Putra said, "Your Highness, it is the custom for us Muhammadans to face towards the west when we pray. We cannot therefore face that way when we are fighting. We pray accordingly that you will graciously permit us to fight in another sector." And Lord Bubunnya answered, "If you cannot face west, change to another part of the line." They were thereupon assigned by Pra Chau to a part of the line that faced east. Here the enemy were few in numbers and lightly armed, and presently^{†250} by the grace of God victory was won: but it was the men of Malaka who led the assault, followed at an interval^{†251} by the men of Siam. And after the country had been conquered Pra Chau rewarded Tun Telanai and Mentri Jana Putra and their men, Tun Telanai being rewarded with a princess, named Otang Minang, whom he took to wife. He then took his leave of Pra Chau, who sent with him a letter accompanied by gifts. These were borne in procession to the ship, and Tun Telanai then set sail.

After a while they reached Malaka, and Sultan Muzaffar Shah gave orders for the letter to be borne in procession with the same ceremonial as for the despatch of the envoys. And when the procession reached the hall of audience, the elephant was made to kneel there, the letter was received by a herald and the khatib^{†252} was ordered to read it, wearing the shoulder-cloth. It ran thus, "This letter from Pra Chau Wadi comes to Awl Malaka", whereafter came the rest of the letter. And when Sultan Muzaffar Shah heard the wording of the letter he was delighted and gave rewards to Tun Telanai and Mentri Jana

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[100] Putra, and also to the Siamese envoys. And when the season came for the return voyage the Siamese envoys took their leave; and the king gave them robes of honour and a letter in reply to that of the Raja of Siam. The envoys then departed for Siam. According to the account we have received Tun Telanai had several sons and daughters by Otang Minang, one of whom, Tun 'Ali Harun, was Laksamana†²⁵³.

After Sultan Muzaffar Shah had reigned for forty years then, in the process of time, he died; as it is said 'To God we belong and to Him we return.' He was succeeded on the throne by his son Sultan 'Abdul, who as ruler took the title of Sultan Mansur Shah. He was seventeen years old when he came to the throne and had married a sister of the Sri Nara 'diraja but had no child by her as yet, though by a secondary wife he had a daughter named Princess Bakal. As a ruler Sultan Mansur Shah was very just and humane, and he was so handsome that he had no peer at that time.

God knoweth the truth. To Him do we return.

Chapter IX

At Majapahit the Batara had died leaving no son. His daughter, Putri Nai Kesuma, marries the Raja of Tanjong Pura's son who had been rescued from shipwreck by a toddy-tapper and becomes Batara. The offspring of the marriage is Radin Galoh Chendra Kiran, whose beauty is such that Sultan Mansur goes over to Majapahit to marry her; he is escorted by neighbouring rajas and by Hang Tuah. The odd sense of humour of the Batara and his various efforts to get the better of his Malacca guests. The prowess of Hang Tuah. On the return to Malacca Hang Tuah gets into trouble with Sultan Mansur Shah, who orders the Sri Nara 'diraja to put him to death. The Sri Nara 'diraja however uses his discretion and merely hides him away, to produce him again later just when he is required to deal with Hang Kasturi. Sultan Mansur's new palace is burnt down. The Raja of China sends a goodwill mission to Malaka: his effort to impress Malacca with his greatness provokes an admirable riposte from Sultan Mansur. He sends his daughter from China to marry Sultan Mansur. On Sultan Mansur's orders Pahang is attacked and conquered and the ruler (Maharaja Sura) is brought as a captive to Malacca. His skill with elephants. Death of Sri Nara 'diraja Tun 'Ali.

(Shellabear, chapter XIX for pp. 100-106 and 107 to 112: then chapter XVI for pp. 112 (part) to 116: then chapter XV for pp. 116 (part) to 119: then chapter XIII for pp. 119 to 121 (bottom): then again chapter XVI to the end of this chapter).

Here now is a story of Majapahit. The Batara had died leaving no son, though he had a daughter, named Radin Galoh Awi Kesuma†²⁵⁴, whom the Pateh Aria Gajah Mada made ruler. Now one day a toddy-tapper, who had gone sailing with his wife,

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[101—102] came across a boy adrift in the sea, clinging to a plank. He rescued the boy and took him aboard his boat: and he perceived that though the boy was unconscious as the result of long exposure in the water without food or drink, life was not yet extinct: as says Baginda 'Ali (may God be pleased with him) *La maut illa bi'l-ajalu*, that is to say, 'death only comes at the appointed hour'. The toddy-tapper dropped rice-gruel water into the boy's mouth; and the boy opened his eyes and perceived that he was on board a boat. The toddy-tapper then took him home with him and cared for him.

After some days the boy recovered, and the toddy-tapper asked him, "Who are you and how came it that you were thus adrift on a plank?" And the boy answered, "I^{†255} am (the son of) the Raja of Tanjong Pura, descended from Sang^{†255a} Maniaka who first came down from Bukit Cantang Mahu Meru. My name is Radin Perlangu and I have two brothers and a sister. One day my father, the Raja of Tanjong Pura, set out to an island for^{†255b} sport, and when we were well out to sea a storm broke and the waves rose, so that the craft in which my father was sailing became unmanageable and was wrecked. My father, the Raja of Tanjong Pura, and my mother had no time to get into a boat but took to the water and swam after another ship. I myself clung to a plank and was carried out to sea by the current and the waves. I was afloat for seven days and seven nights, without food or drink. In the nick^{†255c} of time I fell in with you who have treated me so kindly: but if you wish^{†256} to be even kinder to me, take me to my parents in Tanjong Pura, that they may give you reward without measure." And the toddy-tapper replied, "Yes, but what means have I of taking you to Tanjong Pura? Stay here with me and let me adopt you as my son, for I have no child of my own and I like your handsome young face." And Radin Perlangu said, "Very well then; whatever you wish, sir, I will do." And the toddy-tapper gave to the son of the Raja of Tanjong Pura the name of Kimas (?Kiai Mas) Jiwa, and great was the love of his wife and himself for the boy. Often would he say to him playfully^{†257}, "One of these days you will be Raja of Majapahit and have Princess Nai Kesuma for your bride! If you become Batara of Majapahit, you will make^{†258} me Pateh Aria Gajah Mada!" And Kiai Mas Jiwa would answer, "Very well, if I become Batara of Majapahit, I will make you Pateh Aria Gajah Mada!"

Now after Princess Nai Kesuma, the late Batara's daughter, had been some time on the throne of Majapahit, with the Patah Aria Gajah Mada as regent, people would say, by way of compliment^{†259} to the Pateh Aria Gajah Mada, that he was going to marry her. One day the Pateh Aria Gajah Mada put on old clothes and went out rowing with his servants, incognito.

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[102—103] And the young men talked together, and one of them said, "If I was in the shoes of the Pateh Aria Gajah, I'd carry^{†260} off the Princess, so that I could become Raja. Wouldn't that be fine!" And another said, "Of course the Pateh Aria Gajah Mada is going to marry the Princess! He is practically the Raja in this country as it is. Who's going to say 'No?'" And when the Pateh Aria Gajah Mada heard what the young men said, he thought to himself, "So much for my devotion to duty!" The following day he presented himself before Princess Nai Kesuma and said, "Your Highness, it seem to me that now you are full grown you ought to take to yourself a husband, for it looks not well that you should be unwed." And Princess Nai Kesuma answered, "If you wish to have me married, sir, call together all the people in the city and let me take my choice. Whichever man is to my liking, him will I take for my husband." Then said the Pateh Aria Gajah Mada, "Very well, your Highness. I will assemble the people and whoever shall be your choice, even a dog or a cat, I will accept as my master."

The Pateh Aria Gajah Mada accordingly ordered a proclamation to be made by beat of gong throughout^{†261} Majapahit and all the adjacent territories, commanding all people to assemble at Majapahit because the Princess wished to select a husband. When that had been done, princes and^{†262} ministers, courtiers, heralds and war-chiefs, and peasants whether of high or low degree, old or young, hunchbacks and cripples—all assembled at Majapahit. They came not^{†263} so much because they were summoned to appear but rather because they wanted to come, for having heard that the Princess was going to select a husband, each of them thought that he might be the man to take the Princess' fancy. And when all were gathered together, Princess Nai Kesuma went up on to a balcony which commanded a view of the road and the Pateh Aria Gajah Mada gave orders for all the men to pass in front of the Princess one after the other. This they did, but not one of them was to the liking of the Princess.

After the others had filed past there came the adopted son of the toddy-tapper whom we mentioned just now. When Princess Nai Kesuma saw him, he took her fancy; and she said to the Pateh Aria Gajah Mada, "It is that toddy-tapper's son that I like." And the Pateh Aria Gajah Mada answered, "It matters little who it is so long as your Highness takes a husband." And he sent forthwith for the toddy-tapper's son, took him home with him and made much of him. He then initiated the day and night festivities, seven days and seven nights, for the marriage of Princess Nai Kesuma with the toddy-tapper's son: and when the seven days and seven nights were accomplished, the toddy-tapper's son was taken in procession round the city and was then married to the Princess. And after they

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[103] had been wedded they were deeply enamoured of each other: and it was this toddy-tapper's son who became Batara of Majapahit, with the title of Sang Aji Ningrat.

And the toddy-tapper, whose adopted son the Batara was, went to the palace and presented himself before the Batara, saying, "What^{†264} of the promise your Highness gave to me formerly, that you would make me Pateh Aria Gajah Mada?" And the Batara replied, "Wait awhile, old friend, I am still engaged upon the matter". So the toddy-tapper went home, and the Batara of Majapahit pondered within himself, "How am I to dismiss the present Pateh Aria Gajah Mada? I have no fault to find with him, and he is the prop and stay of Majapahit. Without him the country would be ruined. But how am I going to make good my undertaking to him who adopted me as his son?" Prey to these reflections the king was sad at heart and for two or three days did not appear in public. When the Pateh Aria Gajah Mada saw how the Batara of Majapahit was behaving, he went into the palace and presented himself before the king, saying, "How comes it that your Highness has not appeared these two or three days?" And the Batara of Majapahit replied, "I have been sick." Then said the Pateh Aria Gajah Mada, "It seems to me that your Highness is weighed down by some sorrow. Tell me what it is, that perchance^{†265} I may be able to find the remedy." And the Batara of Majapahit said to the Pateh Aria Gajah Mada, "The truth is, old friend, that I am not the son of the toddy-tapper, I am the son of the Raja of Tanjong Pura and am descended from the Raja (who came down from) Bukit Si-Guntang Mahameru."

He then went on to relate the whole story of how his father had gone out sailing, how the ship had been wrecked how he had been rescued by the toddy-tapper and what^{†266} the toddy-tapper had said to him in jest. "Thus is it", he continued "that he who adopted me as his son now claims fulfilment of my promise to put him in your place, old friend. It is on this account that I am sorrowful." And the Pateh Aria Gajah Mada, who was delighted to hear that the Batara of Majapahit was the son of the Raja of Tanjong Pura, said, "Let your Highness appoint the toddy-tapper in my place and I will retire, for I am now an old man." But the Batara of Majapahit answer, "I am loth to relieve you of your office, old friend, for I do not feel that he is equal to the work of the state." "In that case", said the Pateh Aria Gagah Mada, "when he comes to claim fulfilment of the promise made to him, let your Highness say to him 'Although the office of Pateh Aria Gagah Mada is one of high distinction, yet its duties are exceedingly onerous and I fear they are beyond your powers, my old friend. There is however an even greater distinction

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[103—104] which I will give you if†²⁶⁷ you wish to take it; I will put all the toddy-tappers in the city under your control and you shall be their headman! This cannot but please him.” And the Batara of Majapahit answered, “That is an excellent plan, old friend.” And the Pateh Aria Gajah Mada then withdrew. On the following day the toddy-tapper went into the palace and presented himself before the Batara, asking for redemption of the promise the Batara had made to him. The Batara of Majapahit then spoke to him exactly as the Pateh Aria Gajah Mada had suggested, and the toddy-tapper was delighted. And in the course of time Majapahit became so powerful that every district of Java was subject to it. And the Raja of Tanjong Pura came to hear that the Batara of Majapahit was his son and he sent messengers to Majapahit to get a sight of the Batara. They went accordingly to Majapahit and when they had seen for themselves that the Raja was in fact the son of the Raja of Tanjong Pura, they hastened back to Tanjong Pura and reported to the Raja, “It is a fact that the Batara of Majapahit is your Highness’ son.” And the Raja of Tanjong Pura was overjoyed. And it was bruited abroad throughout every district of Java that he who had become the Batara of Majapahit was none other than the son of the Raja of Tanjong Pura. And the Batara had a daughter by Princess Nai Kesuma; her name was Radin Galoh Chendera Kirana and such was her beauty that the fame thereof spread from city to city and presently reached Malaka. And Sultan Mansur Shah conceived a great passion for Radin Galoh Chendera (Kirana) and determined to go to Majapahit. So he gave orders to Bendahara Paduka Raja to have ships made ready. And Bendahara Paduka Raja called together men to make ready the ships and set their equipment in good order, to the number of five hundred large ships as well as a vast assembly of small craft; for at that time Singapura†²⁶⁸ alone? had a fleet of forty three-masted cruisers. Leaving Bendahara Paduka Raja, the Sri Nara ‘diraja, the Sri Bija ‘diraja and the senior war-chiefs to keep guard over the city, Sultan Mansur Shah chose out (to accompany him) forty young nobles together with forty of his warriors†²⁶⁹ of ancient lineage under the leadership of Tun Bija Sura. [It was this Tun Bija Sura who was the father of Tun Zainal Sri Bijaya ‘diraja, who was known as Tun Sebāb] (?Among these) Hang Tuah, Hang Jēbat, Hang Kesturi, Hang Lēkir, Hang Lēkiu, Hang Khēlēmbak, Hang ‘Ali and Hang Iskandar (? had no rivals and) could do things that†²⁷⁰ none other could do. Hang Tuah in all that he did (and in any contests in which he engaged) excelled all others in cunning†²⁷¹ and strength. If he was jesting†²⁷² with youths of his own age, he would roll up his sleeves and cry defiantly, “Only a Laksamana is my match!” Hence he was called “Laksamana” by his friends; and the name stuck and came into general use. Sultan Mansur

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[104—105] Shah then sent messengers to Indragiri, Palembang, Jambi, Lingga and Tungkal†^{272a} to bid Maharaja Merlang and the and the Raja of Palembang, Jambi, Lingga and Tungkal accompany him to Majapahit. They all consented to escort him; and when all had arrived. Sultan Mansur Shah set forth for Majapahit, escorted by the men of Palembang†^{272b} and the Rajas of Indragiri, Jambi, Tungkal and Lingga and taking with him the young war-chiefs, while he left the chiefs to keep guard over the city.

And after a voyage of some length they reached Majapahit. When news of their arrival came to the Batara of Majapahit he ordered his ministers†^{272c} to welcome them and all the chiefs set out accordingly. It happened that at that time the Raja of Daha†²⁷³ and the Raja of Tanjong Pura, younger brother of the Batara of Majapahit, were both with the Batara. When the Raja of Malaka arrived, he was treated with great distinction by the Raja of Majapahit, who presented him with robes of honour with fittings set with precious stones, made him to sit above all other princes and gave him a creese with a fretted pattern along the edge of its collar-guard. He also gave forty other creeses to the Raja of Malaka's suite: the sheaths of all these creeses were broken. The creese†²⁷⁴ given to the Raja of Malaka had first been given to the Raja of Daha, whose forty followers similarly were given creeses with their sheaths broken. The Raja of Daha ordered fresh sheaths to be made for all forty creeses, but the Raja of Majapahit ordered them to be stolen and all forty of them were stolen. The king then gave creeses to the Raja of Tanjong Pura and the same thing happened, the Raja of Tanjong Pura ordering sheaths to be made and the Batara of Majapahit ordering them to be stolen, and all forty of them were stolen. When however it came to the turn of the Raja of Malaka he ordered Tun Bijaya Sura to have the sheaths made and Tun Bijaya Sura bade the forty young†^{274a} nobles of Malaka get the sheaths made, each of them to be responsible for one creese. And they took the creeses to the sheath-makers and after ordering a sheath to be made for each they stood over the sheath-makers until the work was done. It was finished that same day and the Javanese failed to steal a single creese. "This Raja of Malaka", said the Batara of Majapahit, "is the shrewdest prince of all!"

Now the hall in which the Batara sat when giving an audience was raised up from the ground. It had three steps leading up to it (and the Raja's slaves sat below on the floor). They†²⁷⁵ had tied up a dog in the hall: it was secured by a golden chain and was right in front of the Raja of Malaka. When Tun Bija Sura perceived this, he accoutred himself as a swordsman†²⁷⁶, carrying a shield hung with bells, and he performed a sword dance

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[105—106] (on the ground) before the Batara of Majapahit. When bidden by the Batara to come up into the hall of audience he did so and performed various†²⁷⁷ sword dances there, in the course of which he brandished his shield several times at the dog. The dog (took fright,) strained at the chain until it broke and then ran away into the forest. After that they never again tied a dog there.

Adjoining the gallery of the audience hall there was a pavilion reserved for the ladies of the court. Anyone else entering this pavilion would be speared by the Javanese and consequently no one dared to enter it. But said Hang Jēbat and (? to) Hang Kasturi, "Let us try and get into this pavilion (and†²⁷⁸ see if they can turn us out)!" Hang Kasturi agreed, so one day when the Batara of Majapahit was giving an audience and the princes and chiefs were all assembled, Hang Jēbat and Hang Kasturi went into the pavillion. When the Javanese saw this, they came and thrust at them with their spears: and so many were the spears that the faces of Hang Jēbat and Hang Kasturi could hardly be seen. But Hang Jēbat and Hang Kasturi drew their creeses and with them they cut†²⁷⁹ the Javanese spears in half, so that not one of them took effect and the spear-heads that were picked up afterwards 'weighed many a catty. And there arose a great†²⁸⁰ outcry and the Batara of Majapahit inquired what was the cause of it. And when he was told of the doings of Hang Jēbat and Hang Kasturi, he said, "Let them sit in the pavilion and do not forbid them!" When the Javanese heard the words of the Batara of Majapahit, they desisted and Hang Jēbat and Hang Kasturi seated themselves in the pavilion. This happened each day; when the Batara of Majapahit gave an audience, Hang Jēbat and Hang Kasturi sat in the pavilion. Now as for Hang Tuah, wherever he went he caused a sensation, so struck were the people by his bearing. If he entered the gallery of the audience hall, there was excitement in the gallery. If he went to the market†²⁸¹, there was excitement in the market (and if he went to a village, there was excitement in the village): and the Javanese were astonished to see now he bore himself. [As for the Javanese maidens, if he walked through the market or wheresoever he went, many were those that fell in love with Hang Tuah]. And if Hang Tuah passed, married women tore themselves from the embraces of their husbands so that they could go out and see†²⁸² him. Hence the Javanese sang

Onya suruh†²⁸³ tanggapan penglipur; saben dina katon paran-déné onang uga

which means:— "Here is sireh; take it to allay the pangs of a whole day's love — but you will still yearn for him!

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[106—107] *Iwer sang dara kabèh, déné Laksamana lumaku-lumaku,
penjurit ratu Malayu*

which means:— “wives and maidens alike were all a-flutter at the sight of the Laksamana, the Raja of Malaka’s war-chief, passing by”

*Ayu-ayu anaké wong pandé wesi; paran tan ayua, saben dina
dèn-gurinda*

which means:— “Passing fair is the daughter of the smith, and well she may be fair, she is for ever seeking?”

*Kagèt wong peken, déné Laksamana tumandang, Laksamana
tumandang, penjurit ratu ing seberang*

which means:— “wives in the embrace of their husbands were startled (and leapt up) because they saw the Laksamana approaching, the Laksamana war-chief of the Raja across the sea”

Tututana! yèn ketemu, patènana karo, ketelu jaruman mara
which means:— “Pursue him (the Laksamana) and when you find him (with your wife) kill the pair of them and the go-between as well”

*Gègèr wong pasar déné Laksamana teka, Laksamana penjurit
Ratu Malaka*

which means:— “What excitement there was in the market when the Laksamana, the Raja of Malaka’s war-chief, approached”

*Wis laliya kung (lagi) kungku maning: sumbali-nya lipur kung
hati saben gelak kung*

which means:— “Even if for the moment I have forgotten my love, in a trice back comes the yearning: though I pretend to make light of my passion, the longing ever possesses my heart”

*Gègèr wong paséban déné Laksamana liwat, Laksamana liwat
penjurit Ratu Malaka*

which means:— “What excitement there was in the hall of audience on account of (?at the sight of) the Laksamana, war-chief of the Raja of Malaka”

Dèn-urai rambut, dèn-tangisi; rambuté milu tan di-remen
which means:— “they unloosed their hair and wept, saying, ‘Why, even my hair would follow his beauty (?)’”

Such was the passion of the women in Majapahit for the Laksamana: and the young men of the place amongst themselves made up this verse:—

*Titik embun didaun dasun
Mapanchuran didaun bira (h)
Saben dina amboi katon*

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*Uru edan rasa manira
 Basah mandi dipapan
 Mandi dipapan malu manira
 Isin lara amboi mapan
 Bijer mangisnya tangen ing sira*

(the dew falls on the onion leaves, as water trickles on to the leaves of the *birah*. Every day alas! he is seen and I feel the madness of love. Bathe on the board and you get wet. I am loth to bathe on the board. I am shy to seek lodgment (in his heart), I can only weep with longing for him.

The Laksamana had at that time no peer, save only Sangka Ningrat, war-chief of the Raja of Daha, who alone could rival him to some extent. Hence the Javanese sang

Gègèr wong ing panggungan, déné Sangkaningrat teka

which means:— “Great was the excitement among the spectators at the sight of Sangka Ningrat approaching, Sangka Ningrat war-chief of the Raja of Daha.”

Thus was the behaviour of the men of Malaka who had gone to Majapahit, each according to his fashion (?). And when the Batara of Majapahit perceived how clever Sultan Mansur Shah was and how he excelled all other princes in everything that he did, and how well-bred and sharp-witted were his followers, he thought to himself, “I shall do well to have this Sultan Mansur Shah for a son-in-law and marry him with my daughter Radin Galoh Chendera Kirana.” Thereupon he ordered^{†284} that there should be feasting for forty days and forty nights. And the music of every sort of instrument was heard, and solemn and awe-inspiring was the sound of the music—gongs, drums, clarionets, trumpets, kettledrums. and the noise thereof was unimaginable. Many and varied were the performances—dancing on the flat of the foot (?), Sundanese dancing, Javanese dancing, dancing to the *sěrama*, shadow-plays, ..., *rakat* plays, chanting (?), singing of romances, ... each man giving the performance in which he was skilled, to the delight of the dense masses of onlookers.

And the Batara of Majapahit spoke to the Raja of Malaka, saying, “These Javanese here have played for us, each according to his fashion. It is the men of Malaka who have done nothing!” And Sultan Mansur Shah said to Tun Bijaya Sura, “The Batara of Majapahit bids me order the men of Malaka to play for him.” But Tun Bijaya Sura answered, “The only game we Malays know is *sapu-sapu*^{†285} *ringin*.” When Sultan Mansur Shah told the Batara of Majapahit what Tun Bijaya Sura had said, the Batara replied, “What is *sapu-sapu ringin* like? Tell Tun Bijaya Sura

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[108—109] to play, Radin Galoh would like to see it.” Tun Bijaya Sura then chose out fourteen or fifteen men of good family and brought them forward to play. Advancing (? stretching†^{285a} out their legs) towards the Batara of Majapahit with their sarongs rolled up to their knees they began to play *sapu ringin*. But when the Javanese saw this, they forbade them, saying, ... “I will give you such a clout as will destroy you, stretching out your legs before the Batara!”†²⁸⁶ To which Tun Bijaya Sura replied, “We are only playing because we were commanded by the Batara to play! Had we not been so commanded, are we madmen (that we should play of our own accord)?†²⁸⁷ But if you say we are not to, then we play no more!” And the Batara said, “Never mind, let them play and don’t forbid them.” So they went on with the game: and when it was over, Tun Bijaya Sura and the other players were given robes of honour. And the Batara observed, “These men of Malaka are far sharper than those of any other country! No one would stand a chance with them at any game!”

And the Batara of Majapahit sent for a certain ruffian who had no rival in trickery and said to him, “Steal me the creese of Tun Bijaya Sura! He’s a very sharp fellow, I can see.” And the ruffian replied, “How can your humble servant do that? Malays wear their creeses in front. If they wore their creeses behind, I could steal it.” “Very well”, said the Batara, “I will tell them to wear their creeses behind.” So the following day, when the Batara was giving an audience and all the princes (including Sultan†²⁸⁸ Mansur Shah) were in attendance, the Batara said to Tun Bijaya Sura, “Do you know how to dress in the Javanese fashion, Tun Bijaya Sura?” And Tun Bijaya answered, “If it please your Highness, even if I do not know how to, I can be taught and then do as I have been taught!” The Batara then ordered robes of honour in the Javanese style to be prepared, and Tun Bijaya Sura dressed himself in the Javanese style, with his creese behind. The Batara then left the audience hall to go and see the cock-fighting. The excitement was intense and the shouts of the backers rose to high heaven. In the confusion that reigned the ruffian succeeded in stealing Tun Bijaya Sura’s creese. Tun Bijaya Sura looked behind him and perceiving that his creese was gone he said, “(Alas!) I’ve been robbed by these Javanese!” Thereupon he edged up to the Batara’s betel-bearer and contrived to filch from him the Batara’s†²⁸⁹ creese, which he then put on. When the cock-fighting was over and the Batara was seated in the hall of audience, and all were present, each seated in his appropriate place, the Batara concealed Tun Bijaya Sura’s creese under his thigh (and then called†²⁹⁰ him) saying, “Come here, Tun Bijaya Sura.” And when Tun Bijaya Sura had taken his seat at the Batara’s feet, the Batara took Tun Bijaya Sura’s creese from under his thigh and shewed it to him, saying, “We have

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[109—110] just obtained a creese of very fine workmanship. Have you ever seen one like this, Tun Bijaya Sura?" And when Tun Bijaya Sura saw the creese, he recognized it as his own: whereupon he drew the creese he had at his waist and said to the Batara, "Which is the better, (your Highness), that creese or this one of your humble servant's?" And when the Batara saw the creese which Tun Bijaya Sura had, he recognized it, for it is the custom of the Rajas of Java that royal creeses should have certain fittings: moreover the man who bore^{†290a} the creese was present. And the Batara said, "This Bijaya Sura is altogether too sharp, we cannot trick him!": and he returned Tun Bijaya Sura's creese to him and at the same time gave him his own as a present.

And when the forty days and forty nights' festivities were accomplished and the propitious moment had arrived, Sultan Mansur Shah was married to Radin Galoh. After the wedding they went into the bridal chamber. And Sultan Mansur Shah and Radin Galoh were deeply enamoured of each other: while such was the Batara's affection for Sultan Mansur Shah that he made him sit side by side with him whenever he gave audiences and would not take a repast without him.

After Sultan Mansur Shah had been some while at Majapahit, he wished to return to Malaka; and he sought permission of the Batara to do so, taking Radin Galoh with him. The Batara consented and Sultan Mansur Shah gave orders for his ships to be made ready. And when they were ready, Sultan Mansur Shah bade Tun Bijaya Sura ask the^{†290b} Batara of Majapahit to grant him Indragiri. Tun Bijaya Sura therefore presented himself before the Batara and said, "Your Highness, your son lays his homage at your Highness' feet. He wishes to ask for Indragiri. If it is given, well^{†291} and good: if it is not given, that too is well." The Batara then said to his chiefs, "What think you? Our son asks for Indragiri." And they answered, "It would be well for your Highness to bestow it upon him, to prevent any discord arising with him." The Batara then said to Tun Bijaya Sura, "So be it, we bestow^{†292} Indragiri upon our son: for, as I see it, to whom but to my son, the Raja of Malaka, does the whole realm of Java belong, let alone^{†293} Indragiri?" Tun Bijaya Sura then took his leave and returned to Sultan Mansur Shah to whom he related all that had passed. Sultan Mansur Shah was delighted, and he told Hang Tuah to ask for Siantan. Hang Tuah accordingly presented himself before the king to ask for Siantan and he said, "Your Highness, your humble servant begs to ask for Siantan. If it is graciously granted to him, so be it: if it is not, so be it." To which the Batara replied, "Very well, you shall have it. Even if you had asked for Palembang, Laksamana, I would assuredly have given it to you, let alone

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[111—112] Siantan." Thus it was that Siantan became the territory of the Laksamana, for himself and those that came after him. After that Sultan Mansur Shah set forth on his return to Malaka, where he arrived in due course. And when he was come to Ulu Sepantai (?), the Bendahara, the Treasurer and the chiefs, greater and lesser, came to welcome Sultan Mansur Shah, bringing with them the state drums, pipes and trumpets, and the regalia: and their ships looked to be more in number than any man could count. And when they met Sultan Mansur Shah, all the chiefs, greater and lesser, did homage to him. Then when they arrived at the city of Malaka, he proceeded to the palace in company with Radin Galoh Chendera Kirana. And Sultan Mansur Shah gave his eldest daughter, Princess Bakal, in marriage to Maharaja Merlang of Indragiri; and it was from that marriage that Raja Nara Singa, who subsequently became†²⁹⁴ Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil, was born. And after a while Sultan Mansur Shah had a son by Radin Galoh Chendera Kirana and gave him the name of Ratu†²⁹⁵ di-Klang.

Now it happened one day that the horse which Sultan Mansur Shah himself was wont to ride fell into the cesspool, but though people quickly foregathered to get the horse up out of the cesspool, no one would volunteer to go down†²⁹⁶ and make a rope fast to it. When Hang Tuah saw what had happened, he plunged forthwith into the cesspool and secured a rope to the neck of the horse, which was then hauled†²⁹⁷ up. And when the horse was up, then Hang Tuah himself came up, after which he went and cleansed himself. And when Sultan Mansur Shah saw that his horse was up again out of the cesspool, he was delighted; and Hang Tuah was highly commended by him and presented with robes of honour as befitted his rank.

Not long after that it happened that a certain Javanese had†²⁹⁸ fever, and (when he had fits of shivering) the young men all laughed at him. Resenting their behaviour the Javanese ran amuck with a Sunda knife and slew people right and left. No one would stand up to him and there was a panic, everyone running this way and that. Hang Tuah came forthwith and the Javanese, when†²⁹⁹ he saw Hang Tuah approaching, made for him. Hang Tuah pretended to retreat and dropped his creese. When the Javanese saw this he threw away his knife and picked up Hang Tuah's creese, thinking to himself "this is a good creese", (as indeed it was bound to be) for Hang Tuah was a wonderful judge of creeses. But when Hang Tuah perceived that the Javanese had thrown away his knife, he seized it and set on the Javanese, who stabbed at him with his creese. Hang Tuah however made a spring and avoided the stab: then he in his turn stabbed at the Javanese with the Sunda knife and transfixed him below the

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[112—113] breast, so that he died. Word was brought forthwith to Sultan Mansur Shah that the Javanese had been killed by Hang Tuah. Sultan Mansur Shah then sent for Hang Tuah and gave him robes of honour.

When in due course Hang Tuah attained maturity, he had†³⁰⁰ an intrigue with one of the palace women-attendants. On hearing of this Sultan Mansur Shah ordered the Sri Nara 'diraja to put him†³⁰¹ to death. But the Sri Nara 'diraja thinking that Hang Tuah had not yet committed any offence deserving of death had him hidden away in a country place and put in fetters. He then informed the Raja that Hang Tuah had been put to death, and Sultan Mansur Shah said not a word.

A year†³⁰² later Hang Kasturi had an intrigue with one of the palace women-attendants who was a concubine of the Raja. Sultan Mansur Shah and his royal consort thereupon left the palace where the girl was and moved to another: and Hang Kasturi was surrounded (in the vacant palace). Sultan Mansur Shah seated himself in a small pavilion, where the Bendahara, the Treasurer and all the chiefs, greater and lesser, presented themselves before him. But though the crowd surrounding (the palace where) Hang Kasturi (was) was massed deep, not a man could get into the palace to attack Hang Kasturi, for he had bolted the doors, leaving only one of them open in front of him. He had strewn the floor with trays,†³⁰³ platters, salvers and trenchers, and it was on†³⁰⁴ those trays and platters that he moved hither and thither. He then killed†³⁰⁵ his mistress, slitting her from her face to her waist, and stripped her naked. In vain did Sultan Mansur Shah order Hang Kasturi to be attacked, not a man would offer for the task, for at that time Hang Kasturi was a man clean out of the ordinary. And Sultan Mansur Shah kept speaking†³⁰⁶ of Hang Tuah, saying, "Alas that Hang Tuah is not†³⁰⁷ more! If Tuah were alive, he could efface this shame that has been put upon me."

(The Sri Nara 'diraja†³⁰⁸ at first was silent when he heard what the Raja said, but) when the Raja mentioned Hang Tuah not once but several times, he at last said, "It seems to me, your Highness, that you sorely miss Hang Tuah. If by any chance Hang Tuah were still alive, would your Highness pardon him?" And the king answered, "Have you Hang Tuah in your keeping, Sri Nara 'diraja?" "Am I†³⁰⁹ mad", said the Sri Nara 'diraja' "that I should have him in my keeping? Your Highness bade me get rid of him and I have done so!" And Sultan Mansur Shah answered, "If Tuah were alive, I would pardon him though his offence was as great as (?the) Hill†³¹⁰ (? of Kaf)! I have a feeling that Tuah is alive and with you, Sri Nara 'diraja." The Sri Nara 'diraja then said, "It is as you say, your Highness.

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[113] When†^{310a} your Highness bade me put Hang Tuah to death, it seemed to me that it was not fitting that he should be killed for what he had done, so I†³¹¹ put him in fetters, for Hang Tuah is no ordinary man and I fancied that he might some day be of use to your Highness." And Sultan Mansur Shah was overjoyed at the words of the Sri Nara 'diraja and said," you are a servant†³¹² who truly serves, Sri Nara 'diraja!" And he rewarded him with robes of honour as befitted his rank, and bade him send for Hang Tuah. The Sri Nara 'diraja accordingly ordered his men to go and fetch†³¹³ Hang Tuah, and they brought him into the presence of Sultan Mansur Shah. Hang Tuah's walk was that of a man not yet steady on his feet, he could only totter†³¹⁴ feebly, so long had he been in fetters. When he appeared†³¹⁵, Sultan Mansur Shah took his own creese from his waist and handed it to him, saying, "Take this creese of mine and slay Kasturi." And Hang Tuah replied, "Very well, your Highness"; and after doing obeisance to the Raja he set out for Hang Kasturi. And when he came to the stairway, Hang Tuah called out to Hang Kasturi to come down. And when Hang Kasturi beheld Hang Tuah, he said, "So†^{315a} you are still alive! I thought you were dead or†^{315b} I should never have done what I have done! And now we are met, just you†³¹⁶ and I, creese to creese! Up here with you!" "Very well" answered Hang Tuah, but barely had he mounted two or three steps of the stairs when Hang Kasturi attacked him. Hang Tuah leapt down, and then tried once more to mount the stairs; but the same thing happened again. After this had happened two or three times, Hang Tuah said to Hang Kasturi, "How am†³¹⁷ I to come up to you? No sooner have I mounted two or three steps than you attack me! If you're a man, come down here and we'll fight man to man, for all the world to†³¹⁸ see!" But Hang Kasturi replied, "Hom am I to come down to you, with all those people there? While I was fighting with you, who knows but someone else would come and stab me?" Then said Hang Tuah, "Not a man would I allow to help me, it would be just a fight between you and me!" But Hang Kasturi replied, "How†³¹⁹ could it be thus? If I come down, someone else will assuredly stab me. No, if you want my life, come up here and take it!" Then said Hang Tuah, "If you want me to come up to you, move back a bit!" Hang Kasturi agreed and moved back, whereupon Hang Tuah went up and seeing a small shield hanging on the wall of the palace he seized it. Then they fought, Hang Tuah and Hang Kasturi, but whereas Hang Tuah had†³²⁰ a shield, Hang Kasturi had not. And when Hang Tuah perceived that the Raja's concubine with whom Hang Kasturi had had an intrigue had been killed and stripped naked by Hang Kasturi, he contrived as he fought to twitch with his foot the woman's sarong so that it covered her as though a sheet had been laid over her. Poor†³²¹ Hang Tuah, fresh from being fettered, unsteady on his

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[114] feet and using his creese like a man who had lost^{†322} the knack! He stabbed at Hang Kasturi but stabbed the wall instead and his creese stuck there. When Hang Kasturi would have stabbed him Hang Tuah cried out "Does a man who is a man stab another like that? If you are a man, let me free my creese!" "Free it then", said Hang Kasturi. So Hang Tuah freed his creese and set it to rights. When this was done, the fight was resumed, but once again Hang Tuah missed Hang Kasturi and this time he stabbed a pillar. Again Hang Kasturi bade him free his creese, and Hang Tuah freed it and stabbed at Hang Kasturi. This happened two or three times, Hang Tuah getting his creese stuck in wall or pillar and Hang Kasturi bidding him free it. Presently^{†323} by the will of God it was Hang Kasturi's turn to stab the wall so that his creese stuck fast in it. Forthwith Hang Tuah stabbed him through the back to the heart, whereupon Hang Kasturi cried, "Does a man who is a man go back on his word like that, Tuah? When your creese was stuck two or three times, I told you to free it, but the first time I get mine stuck, you stab me!" To which Hang Tuah replied, "Who need play fair with you, you who have been guilty of high treason?" and he stabbed Hang Kasturi a second time and killed him.

When^{†324} Hang Kasturi was dead, (Hang Tuah left the palace and presented himself before Sultan Mansur Shah, and) Sultan Mansur Shah was so well pleased that he bestowed upon Hang Tuah the very clothes^{†325} that he himself wore. And the corpse of Hang Kasturi was dragged away and cast into the sea. His wife^{†326} and children were (put to death), (and his house) was pulled down: even the ground in which its uprights stood was dug up and cast into the sea. Hang Tuah was then installed as Laksamana and was borne in procession as is the custom for princes: and he was given a place (in the hall of audience) on a level with the Sri Nara 'diraja. Hang Tuah was the first Laksamana, and when the Sri^{†327} Nara (? Bija) 'diraja was absent it was the Laksamana who acted for him as bearer of the sword of state, for it was the custom^{†328} of ancient times for the Sri Bija 'diraja to bear the sword of state, his position being in the gallery. That is the procedure that has been followed down to the present day.

Now as Sultan Mansur Shah refused to live any longer in the palace where Hang Kasturi was killed, he commanded Bendahara Paduka Raja to have a new palace built. The Bendahara himself superintended^{†329} the work, as by custom Bentan was the Bendahara's fief. The palace^{†329a} had seventeen bays, each interspace between the pillars being eighteen feet with pillars in circumference the span of a man's arms; the roof had seven tiers

**Scorodocarpus borneensis* Becc.

[114—115] (? with seven† pinnacles). Between were Cupolas, and every† cupola was furnished with a dormer-window, its roof at right angles and terminating in flying† crockets, all of them carved. Between the spires was trellis-work with pendent and pyramidal decoration. All the spires were gilded and their tops were of red glass, so that in sunlight they gleamed like fire. All the walls had eaves and inset were large Chinese mirrors that flashed in the sun like lightning dazzling the sight. The cross-beams were of *kulim** a cubit in width and nine inches thick; the door-sills were two cubits wide, a cubit thick; and curved; the cross-bars were forty in number and all of them were gilded. So fine was the workmanship of this palace that not another royal palace in the world at that time could compare with it. It was given the name of *mahligai*, and its roof was of copper and zinc shingles.

And when the palace was nearly finished, Sultan Mansur Shah went to look at it, and he walked through the interior while his servants walked underneath the†³³⁰ building. And Sultan Mansur Shah found the workmanship of the palace to his liking, but when he passed on to the kitchens he noticed†³³¹ that one of the cross-beams was dark in colour and undersized, and he asked what it was made of. On receiving from the princes (?†^{331a} servants) the reply that it was made of *ibul*, he observed, "It looks as though the Bendahara was in rather a hurry": and he then went home accompanied by Tun Indra Segara [who was by descent a *sida-sida*†^{331b}]. Tun Indra Segara then went and informed the Bendahara, saying, "The Ruler shewed displeasure just now because one of the cross-beams was undersized." When the Bendahara heard what Tun Indra Segara said, he gave orders there and then for a cross-beam of *kulim* to be procured, a cubit in width and a finger-span†³³² in thickness. The cross-beam was immediately procured and Bendahara Paduka Raja himself went to the kitchen of the palace, shaped the beam and put it into place. And the sound of the work that was being done reached the ears of Sultan Mansur Shah and he asked, "What is that noise? And Tun Indra Segara answered, "It is your servant the Bendahara, your Highness: he is replacing the cross-beam that was too small just now: the Bendahara himself is shaping the new beam and putting it into place." Sultan Mansur Shah then ordered robes of honour, complete in all particulars, to be brought for the Bendahara. [Now Tun Indra Segara was known as Shahmura] And the palace was completed: and all those who had been engaged on the construction were given robes of honour by Sultan Mansur Shah, who then moved to the new *Mahligai* (as it was called?).

And after some while, by the will of Almighty God, the *mahligai* caught fire and flames suddenly appeared on the roof. Sultan Mansur Shah with his consort and the women-attendants

*Orania Macrocladus.

[115—116] fled from the palace, leaving the Raja's possessions in the palace (?)†^{332a}. All efforts to deal with the fire were in vain and steps were then taken to remove to safety all the property in the palace, but the zinc of the roof began to melt and streamed down from the roof-gutters like a heavy downpour of rain, and it was because of this stream of molten zinc that those who were endeavouring to rescue the property were scared (?). One of those who went into the palace to remove the property to safety was Tun Muhammad "the Nimble"; while other people went in once for that purpose, he had gone in and come out two or three times. That was why he was given the name of Tun Muhammad the Nimble. As for Tun Muhammad "the Camel", he had only to go into the palace once to come out with as much as two or three other men carried between them: hence he was given the name of Tun Mohammad the Camel. Of the property in the palace all but a little was removed to safety, but the building was entirely gutted before the fire was extinguished. And Sultan Mansur Shah rewarded the court staff who had saved the property. Those eligible for robes of honour received robes of honour. Those eligible for creeses†³³³ with gold-plated sheaths received such creeses; those eligible for (? gold-mounted) swords received such swords; and those eligible for titles were given titles. Sultan Mansur Shah then commanded Bendahara Paduka Raja to have another palace and audience-hall built, and the Bendahara called out men to build them†³³⁴. The men of Ungaran (and the men of Tugal?) built the palace and with them were the men of Bentan Karangan who collected the materials for it, while the men of Panchur Serapong built the audience-hall (? and with them were) the men of Buru. The pavilion was built by the men of Suir, the waiting room on the right by the men of Sudar, while that on the left was built by the men of Sayong; the drum-hall (?) was built by the men of Apong and the out-houses (*gajah mēnyusu*) by the men of Merba; the bathing-place was made by the men of Tungkal, the mosque was built by the men of Tentai, the gate of the palace domain by the men of Muda and the fort by the men of (This palace, even surpassed its predecessor. And when all was completed, Sultan Mansur Shah rewarded those who had worked on it, and he took up his abode in the new palace permanently).

Now the Sri Nara 'diraja had several children†³³⁵ by Tun Kudu; (the eldest) a son called Tun Tahir†³³⁶, the second a daughter called Tun Shah and the youngest a son called Tun Mutahir†³³⁷ who was very good-looking. And when Tun Kudu returned to the Mercy of God, exchanging this perishable world for a world that abideth, the Sri Nara 'diraja married again. His new wife was a Malay girl, and by her he had two children; a son

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[116—117] called Tun 'Abdul. who was a great†³³⁸ fop, and a daughter called Tun Naja.†³³⁹

When news reached China of the greatness of the Raja of Malaka, the Raja of China sent envoys to Malaka: and as a complimentary gift†³⁴⁰ to accompany his letter he sent needles, a whole shipload of them. And when the envoys reached Malaka, the king ordered the letter to be fetched from the ship with due ceremony and borne in procession. And when it had been brought into the palace it was received by a herald and given by him to the reader of the mosque, who read it out. It ran as follows:—"This letter from His Majesty the Raja of Heaven is sent to the Raja of Malaka. We hear that the Raja of Malaka is a great raja and we desire accordingly to be on terms of amity with the Raja of Malaka. Of a truth there are no rajas in this world greater than ourselves, and there is no one who knoweth the number of our subjects. We have asked for one needle from each house in our realm and those are the needles with which the ship we send to Malaka is laden."

When Sultan Mansur Shah heard how the letter ran he smiled. He then gave orders that the ship should be cleared of the needles and filled with fried sago. Tun Perpatch Puteh, younger brother of Bendahara Paduka Raja, was then commanded by Sultan Mansur Shah to go as envoy to China. He set out and after a voyage of some length arrived at his destination. The Raja of China ordered the Malaka letter to be borne in procession, but the procession was halted at the house of the chief minister, whose name was Ling Ho. Shortly before dawn Ling Ho and the chief notables went to the palace domain to present themselves before the Raja of China, and Tun Perpatch Puteh accompanied them. And (there came a vast flock of) crows†³⁴¹ which followed†^{341a} them in. When they arrived at the outer gate of the palace, Ling Ho and the notables who were with him stopped, and the crows stopped also. The gong of summons then sounded and the whole party passed through the gate. This happened at each of the seven successive gates. And when it was day they entered the palace and took their seats in the hall of audience: and so many were those that were presenting themselves that they sat jammed knee to knee. And the crows spread their wings overshadowing those who were present. Thereupon was heard the rumble of thunder†³⁴² and the crash of thunder-claps, and forked lightning flashed, betokening the appearance of the Raja of China. Presently he appeared, faintly visible through the glass of the dragon's mouth litter on which he was borne. Thereupon all those present bowed their heads and lifted not their faces. The letter from Malaka was then read and the Raja of China was well pleased to hear what it said. And the sago was brought before the Raja of China, and he asked how it was made.

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[117—118] And Tun Perpatch Puteh answered, "After this fashion, your Highness: our Raja ordered that each†³⁴³ of his subjects should roll out a grain of sago until there were enough to fill a ship. That will indicate how many are the subjects of our Raja, no man knows their number!" Then said the Raja of China, "Great indeed must be this Raja of Malaka! The multitude of his subjects must be as the multitude of our own. It would be well that I should marry him with my daughter!" And turning to Ling Ho the Raja of China said, "If even the Raja of Malaka can order his subjects to do such work as rolling out grains of sago, by how much†³⁴⁴ the more can I! In future all rice for my eating is to be husked grain by grain, there is to be no more pounding." And Ling Ho replied, "Very well"; and that is why to this day the Raja of China eats no pounded rice but only rice that has been husked grain by grain.

Now when Tun Perpatch Puteh presented himself before the Raja, he wore rings on each of his fingers, and when any†³⁴⁵ Chinese minister riveted his eyes on the rings, Tun Perpatch Puteh would give him one of them; and the same to the next one who gazed at them: and so on day after day whenever he presented himself before the Raja.

One day the Raja of China asked Tun Perpatch Puteh what food Malays liked. And Tun Perpatch Puteh answered, "Your Highness, we like *kangkong**, not cut across but split lengthways." The Raja of China accordingly ordered *kangkong* to be provided as Tun Perpatch Puteh had described. And when it had been cooked it was served†³⁴⁶ to Tun Perpatch Puteh. And he and the other Malays ate of it, holding the *kangkong* in their fingers by the tip of the stalk and looking upwards, so that Tun Perpatch and the other Malays had a full view of the Raja of China.

And when the season of the year for the return voyage to Malaka was come, the Raja of China bade Ling Ho make ready ships to convey Ling†³⁴⁷, his daughter, to Malaka. Ling Ho did so, and when the ships were nearly ready, the Raja of China chose out five hundred youths of noble birth (? sons of ministers)†³⁴⁸ with a high officer in command, to escort†³⁴⁹ his daughter (Princess Hang Liu; and several hundred beautiful women-attendants accompanied her) And when the ships were ready, Tun Perpatch Puteh (sought the Raja's leave to return to Malaka and the (Raja's) letter was borne in procession to the ship. Tun Perpatch then set sail for Malaka, which he reached after a voyage of some length. Word was brought to Sultan Mansur Shah that Tun Perpatch Puteh had arrived, bringing with him

**Ipomoea aquatica*, 'commonly used as a spinach' (W.).

[118—119] a daughter of the Raja of China. Sultan Mansur Shah was well pleased and gave orders†^{349a} to his chiefs and war chiefs to welcome her. And when they had met the party, they brought the Princess into the palace with every mark of honour and distinction. And when she appeared, Sultan Mansur Shah was astonished by the beauty†^{349b} of Princess Hang Liu, daughter of the Raja of China, and he gave orders that she embrace the faith of Islam. When this had been done, Sultan Mansur Shah married the princess, daughter of the Raja of China: and by her he had a son to whom he gave the name of Paduka Mimat. [This Paduka Mimat had a son named Paduka Sri China, who in his turn had a son named Paduka Ahmat, father of Paduka Isap]. And the five hundred (? sons of) Chinese ministers†³⁵⁰ were bidden to take up their abode at Bukit China: and the place goes by that name to this day. It was they who made the well at Bukit China, and it is their descendants who are called “the Chinese yeomen”. And Sultan Mansur gave robes of honour to the Chinese minister†³⁵¹ who had brought the princess, and the minister then sought leave to return to China.

The king thereupon commanded Tun Telanai†³⁵² and Mentri Jana Putra to go (as envoys) to China, for now for the first time Sultan Mansur Shah was sending ‘obeisance’ to the Raja of China, having married his daughter. Tun Telanai and Mentri Jana Putra accordingly sailed for China, but by the will of God a great storm arose and they were driven off their course and fetched up at Brunai. They presented themselves before the Raja of Brunai, who asked, “How is the letter from our father, the Raja of Malaka, to the Raja of China worded?” And Tun Telanai replied, “The servant, Raja of Malaka, sends obeisance to His Majesty the Raja of China.” “Oh”, said the Raja of Brunai, “so the Raja of Malaka sends obeisance to the Raja of China?” And Mentri Jana Putra answered, “Not so, your Highness. The meaning of the word *sahaya* in Malay is “servant”, and the senders of obeisance are we, the servants of the Raja of Malaka, not your Highness’ father, the Raja of Malaka himself!” And the Raja of Brunai was silent.

And when the season of the year for the return voyage was come, Tun Telanai and Mentri Jana Putra sought leave to return to Malaka. And the Raja of Brunai sent with them a letter to Malaka, which was worded as follows:—“Your Highness’ son sends obeisance to his royal father.” Tun Telanai and Mentri Jana Putra then returned to Malaka and after presenting to Sultan Mansur Shah the letter from the Raja of Brunai, they told him all that had happened. And the king was well pleased to hear what they had to tell, and bestowed robes of honour upon Tun Telanai and Mentri Jana Putra, with a special word of commendation for Mentri Jana Putra.

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And Sultan Mansur Shah ordered Bendahara Paduka Raja to invade†³⁵⁴ Pahang. The Bendahara set out accordingly, accompanied by Tun Bijaya 'diraja, the Laksamana, Sang Stia, Sang Guna, Sang Nyaya (? Naya), Sang Jaya Pekerma and the war-chiefs with a fleet of two hundred sail, great and small. When they reached Pahang after a voyage of some days the men of Malaka fought with the men of Pahang. [Pahang in former days was a great state subject to Siam; it was ruled by one Maharaja Sura, who was a cousin of Lord Bubunnya] When the Bendahara reached Pahang, the men of Pahang fought with the men of Malaka in a fierce battle. After the fighting had lasted†³⁵⁵ some while, then by the will of Almighty God Who subjecteth all His servants to His power, Pahang was easily defeated, the men of Pahang fled, and Maharaja Sura escaped to the upper reaches of the river. The Bendahara ordered the Sri Bijaya (Bija) 'diraja, the Laksamana, Sri Akar Raja, Sang Stia, Sang Guna, Sang Naya, Sang Jaya Pekerma, Sang Surana, Sang Aria, Sang Radin, Sang Sura Pahlawan, Sang Sura and the war-chiefs to pursue Maharaja Sura.

Now the Sri Bija 'diraja combined†³⁵⁶ this pursuit of Maharaja Sura with the pleasure of hunting wild buffaloes and snaring jungle fowl, stopping to snare jungle fowl at every good stretch of river sand that he came to. So much so that his followers said, "What means this, sir? We seem to be engaged on a different business from the others! They are pursuing Maharaja Sura in good earnest, while you, sir, just go on amusing yourself with your sport! If they come up with Maharaja Sura, it is they who will acquire merit and we shall acquire nothing!" But the Sri Bija 'diraja replied, "How do you young men know? Maharaja Sura is not going to escape me! In the number†³⁵⁷ tables his name is below mine, his day is below my day and his time is below my time. How then can he escape from my clutches?"

Now Maharaja Sura had been three nights in the forest without food and without drink. At last he came to an old woman's house and he asked her for rice†³⁵⁸ 'for Maharaja Sura'. And the old woman thought to herself, "Now I've heard that this Raja is being pursued by the Sri Bija 'diraja. If†³⁵⁹ it becomes known that I am sheltering him in my house, what will happen to me? I had better therefore go and inform the Sri Bija 'diraja." So she said to Sri Maharaja Sura, "May your Highness be pleased to sit down while I go and get vegetables." She then set off for the shore, meaning to inform those who were engaged in the pursuit: but all had gone on ahead except only the Sri Bija 'diraja who was still behind. So the old woman went to the Sri Bija 'diraja and told him what had happened. The Sri Bija 'diraja then ordered his men ashore to surround the house where Maharaja

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[120—121] Sura was and they seized him and brought him to the Sri Bija 'diraja, who thereupon went back to the Bendahara taking Maharaja Sura with him; but although he had arrested him the Sri Bija 'diraja did not put Maharaja Sura in fetters or bind him. When they reached the Bendahara, the Sri Bija 'diraja handed Maharaja Sura over to him and the Bendahara kept him as the Sri Bija 'diraja had kept him, treating him as a ruling prince. And the Bendahara ordered that Ya di-kenyang, the Maharaja Sura's riding elephant should be taken to Malaka: and when all the men who had been engaged in the pursuit had reassembled, Bendahara Paduka Raja returned to Malaka, taking Maharaja Sura with him.

And when after a voyage of some length Bendahara Paduka Raja arrived at Malaka, he went into the palace and presented himself before Sultan Mansur Shah, with Maharaja Sura. And Sultan Mansur Shah was well pleased and he bestowed upon Bendahara Paduka Raja robes of honour of the greatest distinction: and all the war-chiefs who had gone on the expedition were also presented by the king with robes of honour. †³⁶⁰The Sri Bija 'diraja (was then commanded by Sultan Mansur Shah to reside in Pahang and) was accorded the privilege of the drum of sovereignty with clarionet and trumpet: only the kettledrums were withheld. And for his services in capturing Maharaja Sura he was granted (the special privilege) of a pair of fringed umbrellas carried side by side. (And he set forth for Pahang). When he was outside^{†361} the precincts of Malaka and had passed (Pulau Besar) he had^{†362} the drum of sovereignty beaten. On reaching Pahang he took up his abode there and it was he who ruled Pahang.

As for Maharaja Sura, he was delivered by Sultan Mansur Shah to Bendahara Paduka Raja, still not in fetters. The Bendahara then delivered him to the Sri Nara 'diraja, who imprisoned him in a cage one end of his public hall. But although he imprisoned him, he allowed him to have a mattress and a pillow: and when Maharaja Sura took food, it was brought to him on a dish, the man who brought it wore the shoulder-cloth and people were ordered to present themselves before him as before a ruler.

One day when the Sri Nara 'diraja was seated in his hall and people were present, Maharaja Sura said, "When my country was defeated and I was taken prisoner by the Sri Bija 'diraja, I was treated as though I was still ruling my country. When I came to the Bendahara, it was the^{†363} same thing (I felt I was being treated as a ruler). It is only now that I am with this^{†364} chief that I am put in a prison-cage!" To which the Sri Nara 'diraja replied, "You may be a prince, Maharaja Sura, but you are lacking in understanding! The Sri Bija 'diraja is a great war-chief. If he could subdue your whole kingdom, you by yourself would

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[121—122] present little difficulty to him. As for the Bendahara, he is a major chief and his retainers are many. How could you escape from his hands? But I — I am only a poor fakir, and if you were to escape, I should certainly incur the Ruler's displeasure. That is why you are imprisoned!" "Excellent!" said Maharaja Sura, "you are indeed a servant†³⁶⁵ who truly serves!" It happened one day, after Maharaja Sura had been imprisoned for some while, that the elephant Ya Kenyang was led past the prison-cage on his way down to the river to be bathed. Sri Maharaja Sura called him and when the elephant came up to him, he examined him and perceived that one of his nails was missing. And he said, "To think that after all these years this is the first time I have looked at my own elephant like this! No wonder I lost my country!"

It happened once that Sultan Mansur Shah's riding elephant, Kenchinchin by name, escaped. In vain did Sri Rama, the Master of the King's Elephants, order search to be made, the elephant was not recovered. If he was seen in marsh or thicket, he defied capture. And the Sri Rama†³⁶⁶ said ("There is someone in this city who is deeply versed in the lore of elephants!") and he told Sultan Mansur Shah all that had happened. The king then ordered inquiry to be made throughout the city for anyone well versed in elephant lore. When he learnt that Maharaja Sura had such knowledge, he sent word to him asking him to recover his elephant. And Maharaja Sura said to the king's messenger, "My humble obeisance to the Ruler: set me free and I will recover the elephant." The messenger then went back and told Sultan Mansur Shah what Maharaja Sura had said, whereupon the king ordered his release. When Maharaja Sura had been released, the elephant was†^{366b} recovered. Sultan Mansur Shah then ordered all the young men about the court to go to Maharaja Sura for instruction, for it was the practice of Sultan Mansur Shah, when there was an expert with elephants or in horsemanship or in the handling of weapons, to send the young men about the court to him for lessons at his charges. [Now the Sri Rama was a *chētēriat*†³⁶⁷ by descent; he had a seat in the right-hand gallery; and whoever brought *sireh* to him had to wear the shoulder-cloth]

The Sri Nara 'diraja had a sister whom Sultan Mansur Shah had married. There were four children of this marriage, two sons and two daughters. (? One of the) sons was called Raja Ahmad. And the Sri Nara 'diraja fell sick; and perceiving that he was about to die, he sent for Bendahara Paduka Raja and said to him, "From this sickness that I have upon me now I feel that I shall surely die. As for my children, they are but lads and lasses still and I commit them first to Almighty God and then to you, the more†³⁶⁸ so because they are already your 'children'. All that I have

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[122—123] to bequeath is four chests of gold, each of them a load for four†^{368a} men. All this I place in your control.” The Sri Nara ‘diraja then returned to the Mercy of God. And Sultan Mansur Shah came to the house to mourn the death of the Sri Nara ‘diraja, and (for the funeral) he granted the privilege of umbrellas, drums, clarionet, trumpet and kettledrums†^{368b}. The Sri Nara ‘diraja was then buried and the king returned sorrowing to his palace. The Sri Nara ‘diraja’s children then went to live with Bendahara Paduka Raja. One son, Tun Tahir, succeeded his father in the title of Sri Nara ‘diraja and was made Treasurer, while a younger son, Tun Mutahir, was given the title of Sri Tahir Raja (sic: ? Sri Maharaja) and was made Temenggong. Another son of the Sri Nara ‘diraja who was called Tun ‘Abdul was by a different mother. This Tun ‘Abdul was such a fop that he would take three days to trim†³⁶⁹ his nails: he would only ride his horse in the shade, and over his dressing he would spend as much time as it takes to cook pot after pot of rice! Never was there such a fop.

God alone knoweth the truth.

Chapter X

The sickness of the Raja of China, its cause and cure.

(Shellabear, Chapter XV)

Here now is a story of the Raja of China. When the envoys who had escorted the Raja of China’s daughter together with Tun Perpatch to Malaka arrived back in China, the letter they brought from the Raja of Malaka was borne in procession, and when it reached the hall of audience, the Raja ordered his chief minister to read it. And when it had been interpreted to the Raja of China he was well pleased to hear that the Raja of Malaka sent ‘obeisance’ to him. Hardly had this happened when the Raja of China fell sick and was stricken with a chloasma all over his body. He ordered that a doctor be sent for to treat the complaint, but though treatment was applied by the doctor the Raja was not cured: and though he sent for doctors by the hundred to treat him, there was still no cure. At last however an aged doctor said to him, “May it please your†^{369a} Highness, the disease from which you are suffering is beyond the powers of all of us to cure, because it is due to a specific cause.” And when the Raja of China inquired what might be the cause, the aged doctor replied, “Your Highness, the cause is that the Raja of Malaka sent ‘obeisance’ That, your Highness, is a judgment upon you. Your Highness must drink water used by the Raja of Malaka for washing his feet and you must bathe in that water, or this sickness that afflicts your Highness will not be cured.” When the Raja of China heard

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[123—124] the words of the aged doctor, he ordered envoys to be sent to Malaka to ask for water that had been used for washing the feet of the Raja of Malaka. When the ships were ready, the envoys set forth for Malaka, where they arrived after a voyage of some length. And word was brought to Sultan Mansur Shah that envoys from the Raja of China were come to ask for water that had been used for washing the Ruler's feet. Sultan Mansur Shah then came out to the hall of audience and gave an audience, whereupon he gave orders for the letter from the Raja of China to be fetched from the ship with due ceremony and brought in procession to the audience hall. The king then ordered the reader of the mosque to read it. It ran as follows:— "This letter comes from the royal father to his royal son. If the royal son†^{369b} wishes to do his royal father a great service, his royal father would ask as a favour for water that has been used for washing the feet of Sultan Mansur Shah." Sultan Mansur Shah gave the water forthwith, and he ordered that a letter be sent in return and that the Chinese envoys be given robes of honour. The letter and the water used for the washing of Sultan Mansur Shah's feet were then borne in procession to the envoys' ship and they then returned to China. When after a voyage of some length they arrived in China, the letter and the water used for washing the feet (of Sultan Mansur Shah) were borne in procession and taken into the palace. And the Raja of China drank of the water used for washing Sultan Mansur Shah's feet and bathed himself with it, and forthwith the chloasma disappeared entirely from the body of the Raja of China and he was cured. He then took an oath that never again would he except 'obeisance' from the Raja†^{369c} of Ujong Tanah (and that oath holds good) to the present day. For the Raja of China said, "All ye who come after me, never demand 'obeisance' from the Raja of Malaka or those that come after him, but only friendship on equal terms."

Chapter XI

Sultan Mansur orders an attack on Siak because Siak will not admit the overlordship of Malacca. A follower of Raja Muhammad, one of Sultan Mansur's sons, kills, Tun Besar, son of Bendahara Paduka Raja, for accidentally knocking off Raja Muhammad's head-dress. Raja Muhammad is exiled to Pahang and made ruler there. The growing fame of Malaka.

(Shellabear, chapters XVII and XVIII)

Here now is a story of how Sultan Mansur Shah decided to attack Siak because Siak, which was formerly a great kingdom ruled by descendants of the Raja of Pagar Ruyong, who himself Guntang Mahameru, refused to admit the overlordship of Malaka. It was for that reason that the king ordered the Sri Awadana to attack Siak: war-chiefs to the number of sixty were commanded

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[124—125] to go on the expedition and Sang Jaya Pekerma and Sang Surana were commanded to accompany the Sri Awadana. [Now the Sri Awadana was a grandson of Bendahara Sri Amar 'diraja, for Sri Amar 'diraja had many children, of whom the eldest was Tun Hamzah, father of the Sri Awadana] Sri Awadana was chief minister to Sultan Mansur Shah. [He had two sons, the one named Tun Abu Saban, the other Tun Perak: Tun Abu Saban had a son, Orang Kaya Tun Hasan, while Tun Perak had a daughter called Tun Esah and a son named Tun Ahmad] The fief of the Sri Awadana was Merbau, which at that time had a fleet of thirty three-masted cruisers. When his ships were ready the Sri Awadana set forth, and Khoja Baba went with him together with the war-chiefs.

And after some days they came to Siak. The Raja of Siak was called Maharaja Permaisura and his prime minister was called Tun Jana Muka Bebal. When they heard that the men of Malaka were coming, they made their preparations, manning the fort and calling out their forces. And the men of Malaka came up the river. Now the fort of Siak was on the water's edge. The men of Malaka brought their ships right†⁸⁷⁰ alongside the fort, and they poured†⁸⁷¹ arrows and spears into the fort like a torrent coursing down a hillside; and many of the Siak troops were killed. Maharaja Permaisura stood on the fort and called upon his men to fight, but when Khoja Baba saw this, he drew his bow and shot him through the heart and Maharaja Permaisura fell dead. When the Siak men saw that their Raja had been slain, they broke and fled in disorder: whereupon the men of Malaka breached the fort, forced their way in and looted it, securing a vast amount of booty.

And a son of Maharaja Permaisura, Megat Kudu by name, was captured and brought to the Sri Awadana. The Sri Awadana then sailed for Malaka; and on arriving there he presented himself before the Raja, taking Megat Kudu with him. And Sultan Mansur Shah was well pleased and rewarded the Sri Awadana, Khoja Baba and all who went on the expedition with them. To Megat Kudu he gave robes of honour; and after marrying him to a daughter of his made him Raja of Siak with the title of Sultan Ibrahim, with Tun Jana Muka Bebal as prime minister as before. And Sultan Ibrahim had a son named Raja 'Abdul by his wife, the daughter of Sultan Mansur Shah.

Here now is the story of Raja Muhammad and (Raja) Ahmad, sons of Sultan Mansur Shah. When they had both grown up, it was the intention of Sultan Mansur Shah to put Raja Muhammad on the throne as his successor, for he was his favourite son. One day Raja Ahmad and Raja Muhammad were out riding: and

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[125—126] it happened that at that moment Tun Besar, son of Bendahara Paduka Raja, was playing football (*sepak raga*) in the street with some other youths. As Raja Ahmad and Raja Muhammad rode past, Tun Besar had the ball and he kicked it so that it hit Raja Muhammad's headcloth and knocked it off. And Raja Muhammad said, "My headcloth has fallen." Thereupon the man who carried the betel-bowl rushed up and stabbed Tun Besar through the heart and killed†³⁷² him. Amid the excitement that ensued Bendahara Paduka Raja came out, and when he asked what the excitement was about, he was told, "Your son is dead, killed by Raja Muhammad!" And when he learnt all that had happened, he asked, "Why this arming†³⁷³?" And the Bendahara's people replied, "We are going to avenge the death of our kinsman!" Then said the Bendahara, "You can't be disloyal†³⁷⁴ to the mound without being disloyal to the hill! For†³⁷⁵ shame, all of you, for shame! For it is the custom of Malays never to be disloyal to their masters. But as for having this prince as our master—never!"

The Bendahara's people then kept silent; and Tun Besar was buried. When Sultan Mansur Shah was informed of what had happened, he asked what the Bendahara had said: and he was told how the Bendahara had declared that it was the custom of Malays never to be disloyal but "as for having this prince as our master—never!" And Sultan Mansur was furious (with Raja Muhammad) and sent for him. When he appeared, Sultan Mansur's anger was indescribable. "You young scoundrel", he cried, "the only thing to be done with you is to turn you out of the country!" And he sent for the Sri Bija 'diraja from†³⁷⁶ Pahang. When after some while the Sri Bija 'diraja arrived, Sultan Mansur Shah handed Raja Muhammad over to him and ordered him to make Raja Muhammad ruler of Pahang, with territory from Sedili Besar to Trengganu. Raja Muhammad was at the same time given men suitable for the offices of Bendahara, Treasurer and Temenggong. When ships had been made ready, the Sri Nara†³⁷⁷ (? Bija) 'diraja set out for Pahang, where he installed the Raja's son as ruler, with the title of Sultan Muhammad Shah. The Sri Nara (? Bija) 'diraja then returned to Malaka. And the fame of Malaka was spread abroad, from above the wind to below the wind. The Arabs gave it the name of Malakat. At that time there was no city that was the equal of Malaka, save only Pasai†³⁷⁸ and Haru. The three countries (were of equal greatness, so that) their Rajas, however they stood to each other in point of age, still sent 'greetings' only to each other, though the people of Pasai were wont to read as 'obeisance'†³⁷⁹ the word 'greetings' in any letter, no matter whence it came.

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Chapter XII

The story of Semerluki, Raja of Mengkasar, and his ambition to conquer all the countries below the wind. After raiding Java he is worsted at Malaka and later at Pasai. After yet another defeat in Malaka waters he returns to Mengkasar. The coming of Maulana Abu Bakar with the book *Durr Manzum* and the mission to Pasai to pose a problem of theology. Kadli Yusuf's submission to Maulana Abu Bakar. Sultan Mansur's attempt to gain the hand of the Princess of Gunong Ledang. (*Shellabear, chh. XIX to p. 127, then XX to p. 129, then XXVI, to end of chapter*).

Here now is a story of Semerluki, Raja of Mengkasar: and this is how the tale goes according to the account we have received. There was in the land of Mengkasar a city named Balului, so powerful that all other cities (in Mengkasar)†³⁸⁰ were subject to it. The Raja of Balului was called Mejokok and he had married seven sisters, daughters of Keraing Ditandering Jokinak. All seven princesses were consorts of the king, but it was the youngest of them who was the most beautiful. The eldest princess had a son, to whom his father had given the name Keraing Semerluki. In the course of time Keraing Semerluki grew up to be a man of such strength and valour that he had no peer throughout Mengkasar: and he fell in love with the youngest of the seven princesses. Keraing Mejokok became aware of this but he refused to let him have the princess, saying, "If, my son, you desire a wife as beautiful as your mother's sister, go plunder Ujong Tanah and find a girl like her!" Keraing Semerluki thereupon fitted out a fleet of two hundred ships of various types; and when the ships were ready, he set forth, determined to conquer every city here below the wind. First he went to Java and ravaged many of its provinces. In no country that he attacked had the people the courage to try and repel him. He then passed to Ujong Tanah waters and ravaged the coastal districts of Malaka. And word was brought to Sultan Mansur Shah, "Our coastal districts have been utterly laid waste by the Raja of Mengkasar who is called Semerluki." When†^{380a} Sultan Mansur Shah heard this news, he ordered the Laksamana to intercept Semerluki, and the Laksamana made ships ready accordingly. When the ships were ready, the Laksamana put out to sea with his fleet, and on the arrival of Keraing Semerluki in Malaka waters he engaged the Mengkasar fleet and battle was joined, ship charging ship, and arrows and darts falling like heavy rain†^{380b}. When the Laksamana closed the ship of Keraing Semerluki, Keraing Semerluki hurled a flying grapel at the Laksamana's ship. It took hold and Semerluki ordered his men to wind in, but the Laksamana cut it away. And many of Semerluki's ships were sunk by the fleet of the Laksamana; but on the Malaka side many were killed by the enemy's darts as the antidote for the upas poison was not yet known in Malaka.

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[127] Keraing Semerluki then went on to Pasai, where he laid waste many of the provinces. The Raja of Pasai thereupon ordered his chief, the Raja†³⁸¹ Kenayan, to drive out Keraing Semerluki. The Raja Kenayan accordingly made ready a fleet and when it was ready, he put out to sea. When he met the fleet of Keraing Semerluki at Telok Terni (?), the fleet of Pasai engaged the fleet of Mengkasar in battle. Keraing Semerluki's ship closed the ship of the Raja Kenayan and Keraing Semerluki ordered a flying grapnel to be hurled. It hit the Raja Kenayan's ship and took hold, whereupon Keraing Semerluki ordered his men to wind in. And the Raja Kenayan cried, "Wind away! Let me but get near†³⁸² you and I'll leap aboard your ship and kill the lot of you with my†³⁸³ 'heeled' sword!" Then said Keraing Semerluki to his men, "Quick, cut†³⁸⁴ away the ropes!" When they had done so, the two ships parted: and Keraing Semerluki said, "The Raja Kenayan is a braver man than the Laksamana!" He then set sail for Mengkasar, passing through Malaka waters; and he was pursued by the Laksamana who sank any ships that had become detached from the main Mengkasar fleet. So many ships did Keraing Semerluki lose that when he came to Ungaran he seized a piece of the rock†³⁸⁵ that ballasted his ship and cast it into the Ungaran Straits, saying, "When this rock floats†³⁸⁶ I will come again to Ujong Tanah waters!" And that is†^{386a} how the place came to be called the Cape of the Rock, and the rock is still there to this day. Keraing Semerluki then returned to Mengkasar: and the Laksamana returned to Malaka and presented himself before Sultan Mansur Shah, who gave robes of honour to the Laksamana and all those who had gone on the expedition.

After†³⁸⁷ that, (there arrived by ship one) Maulana Abu Bakar bringing with him the book *Durr†³⁸⁸ Manzum*. He disembarked and proceeded to Malaka, where he was received with every mark of distinction by Sultan Mansur Shah, who ordered†³⁸⁹ that (the *Durr Manzum*) be brought in procession to the hall of audience. And Sultan Mansur Shah studied with Maulana Abu Bakar, who highly commended his aptitude and the progress that he made in his studies. Sultan Mansur Shah then ordered that the *Durr Manzum* be sent to Pasai for an exposition of its doctrine by Tuan†³⁹⁰ Pematakan. Tuan Pematakan set to work on the exposition and when it was completed he sent it to Malaka. Sultan Mansur Shah was well pleased with it and shewed it to Maulana Abu Bakar, who approved of it and complimented Tuan Pematakan.

Sultan Mansur Shah then appointed Tun Bija Wangsa to go to Pasai and pose the following problem†³⁹¹ of theology:—"Do those in heaven abide there for ever? And do those in hell abide there for ever?" Tun Bija Wangsa was to take with him

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[127—128] seven tahils of gold dust and two women, one a native of Mengkasar called Dang Bunga and the other a daughter of a yeoman†³⁹² of Muar, called Dang Biba. The present sent by Sultan Mansur Shah to the Sultan of Pasai consisted of haircloth (?) in yellow and in purple with floral designs. And Sultan Mansur Shah gave this command to Tun Bija Wangsa:— “You are to ask the divines of Pasai this question, ‘those that are in heaven and those that are in hell — do they abide for all time in heaven and do they abide for all time in hell, or not?’ Whosoever can answer this question you are to give to him these seven tahils of gold dust and these two women (?†^{392a} slaves); and the answer that is given to you you are to honour with beat of drum and bring back here.” And Tun Bija Wangsa said, “Very well, your Highness.” Orders were then given for the letter to be taken in procession to the ship with all the honours accorded to a reigning prince (?): and Tun Bija Wangsa set out for Pasai. (? When he reached Pasai), the Raja of Pasai (? ordered that) the letter be fetched from the ship with every mark of distinction and honour, and that it be borne in procession to the hall of audience. When it reached the hall, orders were given for it to be read, and the Raja of Pasai was well pleased with the wording†³⁹³ of it. Tun Bija Wangsa then did homage to the Raja of Pasai, who asked him, “What were the instructions of our brother to you, Tun Bija Wangsa?” And Tun Bija Wangsa answered, “The command of your Highness’ elder brother to me was, ‘whosoever can answer the question propounded in the letter, you are to give to him these women (?†^{393a} slaves) and these seven tahils of gold dust, and the answer is to be honoured with beat of drum and brought back to Malaka.” The Raja of Pasai forthwith sent for Tun Makhdum Mua. And when Tun Makhdum Mua appeared, he was given a seat beside the Raja of Pasai. And the Raja of Pasai said to him, “Sir, the Raja of Malaka has commanded Tun Bija Wangsa to come hither to pose the question whether all those in heaven and all those in hell abide there for ever or not. We desire that you furnish the answer to this question, that we may not be put to shame.” And Tun Makhdum Mua said, “Those in heaven abide there for ever, those in hell abide there for ever.” And Tun Bija Wangsa answered, “Is there no other possible view?” “There is not, said Tun Makhdum Mua, “for that accords with the text of the Koran ‘for ever do they remain’” But Tun Hasan, a pupil of Tun Makhdum Mua who was sitting there at the time, turned his head away, for the answer did not commend itself to him. The Raja of Pasai then retired into the palace and all those present went home.

When Tun Makhdum Mua reached his house, Tun Hasan†³⁹⁴ came and presenting himself before the Makhdum he said, “How was it, sir, that you answered the envoy just now†³⁹⁵ as you did?”

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[128—129] If that was the answer, the people of Malaka know it already. Why then did they send their question here? It looks as though there must be some other answer that they require.’ Then answered Tun Makhdum Mua, “What is the correct answer, to your mind?” And Tun Hasan said, “To my mind, the answer should be thus and thus.” “You are right!”, said Tun Makhdum Mua, “I made mistake, but what is†³⁹⁶ to be done now? What’s said is said!” And Tun Hasan said, “There is no difficulty in the matter. All you have to do, sir, is to send for the envoy and say to him ‘Just now when you asked me that question before the whole assembly I gave the answer you heard. But now that we are by ourselves I will tell you. The true answer is this.....!’” Tun Makhdum Mua agreed and called Tun Bija Wangsa. He came and Tun Makhdum Mua set food before him. After they had eaten, Tun Makhdum Mua took Tun Bija Wangsa to a private place and said to him, “Just now you put your question to me before the whole assembly, and I gave the answer you heard. But now I will tell you what the true answer is. It is this†³⁹⁷....”

Tun Bija Wangsa was highly pleased to hear what Makhdum Mua said, and he presented to him the seven tahils of gold dust and the two women. He then honoured the answer by beat of drum and took it to his ship. And the Raja of Pasai asked, “What is it that the envoy is carrying to the beat of drums,” And Penghulu Bujang Karikelar, Tun Jana Makhlok Biri-Biri, answered, “Your Highness, the envoy has obtained the explanation of the matter regarding which inquiry was made; the explanation was given by Tun Makhdum Mua as the result of a suggestion by Tun Hasan.” And the king was well pleased to hear this and highly commended Tun Hassan. [To Dang Biba, Tun Makhdum Mua gave the name of Dang Asiah Bendahari]. Tun Bija Wangsa then sought leave of the Raja of Pasai to depart. And the Raja of Pasai sent a letter in reply to that of the Raja of Malaka, and it was borne in procession with due ceremony: and Tun Bija Wangsa was given robes of honour complete with all accessories. Tun Bija Wangsa then set forth on his return voyage to Malaka, honouring with beat of drum the (answer to the) problem previously mentioned. And when he reached Malaka, the answer was borne in procession followed by the letter of the Raja of Pasai. And Sultan Mansur Shah was well pleased to hear the answer to the problem, which met with the approval of Maulana Abu Bakar, and he highly commended Tun Makhdum Mua.

Now at that time the Kadli of Malaka was one Kadli Yusuff³⁹⁸, great-grandson of Makhdum Saiyid ‘Abdu’l-Aziz†³⁹⁹ who effected the conversion of the people of Malaka to Islam. Kadli Yusuf did not go to Maulana Abu Bakar for instruction because he himself was a profound scholar. But one day, as

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[129—130] Kadli Yusuf was going to the mosque for the Friday prayers, he passed the door of Maulana Abu Bakar's house. It happened that at that moment Maulana Abu Bakar was standing in the doorway, and he appeared to Kadli Yusuf to be enveloped with light just as the wick of a lighted candle is enveloped with its flame: thus was the appearance of Maulana Abu Bakar. Forthwith Kadhi Yusuf ran to him and did obeisance to him. Maulana Abu Bakar received him with a smile, after which Kadli Yusuf went to Maulana Abu Bakar for instruction. Kadli Yusuf then became†⁴⁰⁰ a recluse: he resigned the office of Kadli and his son Kadli Menua†⁴⁰¹ (? Menawar Shah) became Kadli in his stead and took up his abode in Malaka.

One day when Sultan Mansur Shah was seated in the hall of audience in the presence of his chiefs, ministers, courtiers and war-chiefs, he said to the chiefs, "We give thanks to Almighty God that He has graciously vouchsafed to us a great kingdom, but there is one thing we still would fain have: if we may ask it of God, we desire to have a wife who shall surpass the wife of any prince in the world." And the chiefs replied, "Is there one to be found such as your Highness desires? Your Highness already has wedded a princess of Java and a princess of China. Could there be better than that? For in days of yore it was only Raja Iskandar Dzu'l-Karnain that had a daughter of the Raja of China for consort, and now it is none but your Highness that has such a consort." Then said Sultan Mansur Shah, "For one prince to marry the daughter of another prince—even other Rajas do that: what I desire is a bride such as no other Raja possesses: that is the girl we wish to marry." And the chiefs replied, "May†⁴⁰² it please your Highness to give the command, that we may carry it out." "We desire," said Sultan Mansur Shah, "to ask for the hand of the Princess of Gunong Ledang, and we appoint the Laksamana and Sang Stia to go on our behalf." And the Laksamana and Sang Stia said, "Very well, your Highness." Tun Mamad was commanded to accompany them, taking with him men of Indragiri†⁴⁰³ to clear the path, as Tun Mamad was headman of the people of Indragiri. The Laksamana and Sang Stia then set out on the journey accompanied by Tun Mamad. And after some days, they reached the foot of Gunong Ledang and began the ascent of the mountain. And when they were about half way up, a wind arose so strong that they could climb no further and the path itself became exceedingly difficult. And Tun Mamad said to the Laksamana and Sang Stia, "Stay here, sir, all of you, while I go up." And when the Laksamana had agreed Tun Mamad went ahead with two or three men who were good walkers and continued the ascent with them. And when they approached the 'singing bamboos', the climbers felt as though they were going to be blown away, so strong was the wind: the clouds seemed so close as to be within their reach:

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[130—131] and so sweet was the music of the 'singing bamboos' that birds on the wing stopped to listen to it and every creature that heard it was enchanted. Tun Mamad then came upon a garden. He entered it and found four women there. One of them, who was old but still handsome and†^{403a} wore round her shoulders a cloth for carrying, asked Tun Mamad who he was and of what country. And Tun Mamad answered, "I am a man of Malaka and I have been sent here by Sultan Mansur Shah to ask for the hand of the Princess of Gunong Ledang in marriage. But you, lady, what is your name?" And she replied, "My name is Dang Raya Rani, and I am the guardian of the Princess of Gunong Ledang. Wait here for me while I acquaint the Princess with what you have told me." After saying this Dang Raya Rani and the women with her vanished from sight. Presently there appeared an old woman, bent double with age, and she said to Tun Mamad, "All that you have said, sir, has been related by Dang Raya to the Princess of Gunong Ledang, who says, "If the Raja of Malaka desire me, let him make for me a bridge of gold and a bridge of silver from Malaka to Gunong Ledang; and for a betrothal gift let there be seven trays of mosquitos' hearts, seven trays of mites' hearts, a vat†⁴⁰⁴ of young areca-nut water, a vat of tears, a cup of the Raja's blood and a cup of his†⁴⁰⁵ son's blood. On these conditions I approve the request of the Raja of Malaka." After she had thus spoken she vanished from sight. According to the account we have received the old woman who spoke with Tun Mamad was the Princess of Gunong Ledang herself in disguise.

Tun Mamad then went down from the place and returned to the Laksamana and Sang Stia, to whom he told all that the Princess of Gunong Ledang had said. The Laksamana and his companions then descended Gunong Ledang to return to Malaka, which they reached after a while. Then the Laksamana, Sang Stia and Tun Mamad presented themselves before Sultan Mansur and related to him the message they had received from the Princess of Gunong Ledang. And Sultan Mansur Shah said, "All that she demands we can provide, save only the blood of our son; that we cannot providé, for our heart would not suffer us to take it."

God knoweth the truth. To him do we return.

Chapter XIII

The rising in Pasai against Sultan Zainu'l-'Abidin, who flees to Malacca. Sultan Mansur sends an expedition to reinstate him, but after he has been reinstated he rudely refuses to send his 'obeisance' to Malacca; and when he is again dethroned, the Malacca men leave him to his fate.

(Shellabear, chapter XXII)

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Here now is a story of the Raja of Pasai, Sultan Zainal-'Abidin as he was called. This Raja of Pasai was one of two brothers, and the younger desired to supplant the elder as ruler. In this treacherous design he had the support of the people of Pasai and they were for killing their Raja. Sultan Zainal-'Abidin accordingly took flight in a small ship and went to Malaka to seek the protection of Sultan Mansur Shah. Sultan Mansur Shah had a fleet made ready to take Sultan Zainal-'Abidin back to Pasai. And when the fleet was ready, Bendahara Paduka Raja, the Sri Bija 'diraja, the Laksamana and the war-chiefs were all commanded to go and take the Raja back to Pasai.

In due course the expedition reached Pasai, and the men of Malaka fought with the men of Pasai but did not win the day, for the forces of Malaka numbered but twenty thousand whereas those of Pasai numbered a hundred and twenty thousand, even if reckoned at only one man from each hamlet. The Laksamana, the Sri Bija 'diraja and the war-chiefs accordingly foregathered with Bendahara Paduka Raja to consider what should be done. And the Bendahara said, "What think you? Here we have been a long time at Pasai but have achieved nothing. Had we not better return to Malaka so that the Ruler may be spared suspense?" Then said Tun Pikrama, the Bendahara's son, "Why would your Highness return? Have we fought a big battle yet? I think we should make another landing. Let us land with the Laksamana, the Sri Bija 'diraja and all the war-chiefs." And the Laksamana and the Sri Bija 'diraja said to Bendahara Paduka Raja, "Your son is right. Let me^{†406} and my men land again." And Bendahara Paduka Raja replied, "Very well, to-morrow we will land together."

Early the next morning the chiefs gathered round the Bendahara, and the Bendahara ordered rice to be served for the whole party. But the cook said, "We have not enough cups and platters, for those that are to be fed are more than twenty dishes would suffice for." Then said the Bendahara to the chiefs and war-chiefs, "We are about to go into battle. Let us therefore eat all together off leaves." The chiefs agreeing, the Bendahara ordered that leaves be spread all along the shore and that rice be brought there, whereupon the (Bendahara)^{†407}, chiefs, war-chiefs and rank and file ate all together off leaves.

When they had fed, Bendahara Paduka Raja, the Sri Bija 'diraja, the Laksamana, the Sri Akar 'diraja, Tun Pikrama (Pekerma), Tun Telanai, Tun Bijaya, Tun Maha Mentri, Tun Bija 'diraja, Sang Naya, Sang Stia, Sang Guna, Tun Bijaya Sura, Sang Jaya Pikrama (Pekerma), Sang Surana, Sang Aria ('diraja), Sang Rana, Sang Sura Pahlawan, Sang Stia Pahlawan Raja Indera Pahlawan, Sri Raja Pahlawan, Raja Dewa Pahlawan

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[132—133] and the war-chiefs advanced inland from the shore. The sound†⁴⁰⁸ of the tramp of their feet was like the roll of thunder and their weapons flashed like forked lightning. And the army of Pasai came out to meet them, (the tramp of their feet) sounded like thunder and (terrifying was) their shouting and cheering. Like a sea at high tide the army of Pasai surged forward, their standards and pennons like a forest of trees. And when the two armies stood face to face, battle was engaged amid indescribable din; the shouts of the fighting men commingled with the noise of the elephants and horses in such deafening clangour that a thunderbolt in the heavens would not have been heard. The dead lay thick on either side, blood flowed like a river in spate and the ground was strewn with corpses. And so fierce was the onslaught of the war-chiefs of Pasai that the Malaka line was broken†⁴⁰⁹ and the troops fled in disorder to the water's edge. The Bendahara stood on the bank and when he looked behind him and saw the water, he cried out to his spear-bearer, a boy named Kerangkang, "Get me my spear! Old†⁴¹⁰ though I am, alone I'll send them†⁴¹¹ sprawling!" Now Tun Pikrama was standing his ground, along with Hang Isak and Naina Isahak, their weapons being bows of the Persian†⁴¹² (?) type. The Pasai men could make no headway against them; any who tried to advance were shot dead. The Pasai men accordingly halted. But Naina Isahak said to Tun Pikrama, "How can we continue to hold out, just the three of us? Those who have fled do not know that we are holding out. If you two will stay here, I will go and rally the men who have run away!" Tun Pikrama agreed, so Naina Isahak†⁴¹³ set forth to rally the fugitives and every man that he met he ordered to go back to Tun Pikrama; and they all went back. Presently Naina Isahak came up with Hang Hamzah, son-in-law of Tun Pikrama, running†⁴¹⁴ hell for leather with never a glance behind him or troubling to follow the regular path. Naina Isahak hailed†⁴¹⁵ him, saying, "Hang Hamzah! Why are you scuttling away on your belly like a lizard? When Tun Pikrama took you for son-in-law, wasn't it because you were such a fine strapping young fellow with the curly hair of a hero? People thought 'here's a brave man!'" And Hang Hamzah replied, "What, is Tun Pikrama still back there?" And when Naina Isahak said that he was, Hang Hamzah went back, with his buckler hung with bells and his spear with its handle†⁴¹⁶ of mother-of-pearl. And leaping into the air and crying "I am the Hamzah of the latter days,"†⁴¹⁷ he charged the Pasai host that stretched like a sea in front of him. And all the other men of Malaka likewise charged the Pasai troops, killing every man they encountered. And the men of Pasai broke and fled in disorder, leaving many dead on the field. And the men of Malacca (pursued them)†⁴¹⁸ to the Muhammadan bridge (?) and then forced their way (? into the palace domain) through the

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[133—134] outer gate and captured the palace. Thus fell Pasai and Sultan Zainal 'Abidin was then installed as Raja by Bendahara Paduka Raja. After spending some days organizing the administration of Sultan Zainal 'Abidin the Bendahara sought Sultan Zainal 'Abidin's leave to depart, and he said to him, "What message of homage have you to send to your royal father?" And Sultan Zainal 'Abidin answered, "Homage done†⁴¹⁹ in Malaka stays in Malaka." And Bendahara Paduka Raja was so incensed at this reply that he said, "The homage I have done in Pasai stays in Pasai then!" He then went aboard his ship and with the other Malaka men set out to return. When they reached Jambu Ayer, word was brought from the shore that Sultan Zainal 'Abidin had been attacked by the people of Pasai. Bendahara Paduka Raja then sent for the Sri Bija 'diraja, the Laksamana and the war-chiefs; and when they had come, the Bendahara took counsel of them. And the Laksamana said, "Let us return to Pasai and establish Sultan Zainal 'Abidin once more on the throne." But the Bendahara replied, "No, I am no longer prepared to do that, for he refuses to do obeisance to the Ruler." Then said all the chiefs, "So be it! We follow your decision, Bendahara." So the Bendahara resumed his homeward voyage.

And when in due course they reached Malaka, the chiefs presented themselves before Sultan Mansur Shah. And Sultan Mansur Shah was displeased with the Bendahara for refusing to go back to Pasai to establish Sultan Zainal 'Abidin on the throne, and he sent for the Laksamana. And when the Laksamana appeared, Sultan Mansur Shah questioned him as to what had happened at Pasai, and the Laksamana spoke disparagingly of the Bendahara's conduct. And Sultan Mansur Shah was even†^{419a} more gravely displeased with the Bendahara, whose people were all present at the time, and he retired into the palace. All those present then went home, and the Bendahara's people repaired to his house, where they related to him all that the Laksamana had said in disparagement of the Bendahara's conduct. And Bendahara Paduka Raja remained silent. The next day Sultan Mansur Shah came out of the palace and gave an audience, at which all the officers of state were present, save only the Laksamana. Sultan Mansur Shah then sent for the Bendahara. And when Bendahara Paduka Raja came, Sultan Mansur Shah questioned him as to what had passed at Pasai, and the Bendahara paid many compliments to the conduct of the Laksamana. Sultan Mansur Shah was greatly astonished, and he presented the Bendahara with robes of honour. The Laksamana's people were present at the time. When the Raja had gone into the palace and all those present had gone home, the Laksamana's people returned to his house where they told him what the Bendahara had said in compliment to the

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[134—135] Laksamana. Forthwith the Laksamana went to the house of the Bendahara, whom he found seated in his public hall with people before him, and he prostrated himself at the Bendahara's feet, saying, "Verily you are a chief among chiefs." Tradition has it that the Laksamana prostrated himself seven times at the feet of the Bendahara. Afterwards Sultan Mansur Shah gave robes of honour to Tun Pikrama and Hang Hamzah, and to Tun Pikrama he gave the title of Paduka Tuan, at the same time bestowing upon him the fief of Buru, in recognition of his services in the defeat of Pasai. Buru at that time had a fleet of forty ships. Tun Pikrama's son, Tun Ahmad, was then given the title of Tun Pikrama Wira and Hang Hamzah the title of Tun Perpateh Kasim. This Tun Perpateh was the father of a daughter who became the mother of Sri Pikrama Raja Tun Tahir, or Tun Utusan as some people⁴²⁰ called him. Laksamana Sura 'diraja was also the son of this Tun Perpateh.

God knoweth the truth. To Him do we return

Chapter XIV

The story of the Raja of Champa; how he discovered a child in the blossom of an areca palm and gave the child the name of Raja Pau Glang. When he grows up, Raja Pau Glang marries the Raja of Champa's daughter and ultimately succeeds him on the throne. Raja Pau Glang's grandson Pau Gma, marries the daughter of the Batara of Majapahit and then returns to Champa, leaving his bride behind in Majapahit. The son of this marriage, Raja Jakanak, is born at Majapahit but goes in due course to visit his father, Pau Gma, in Champa and later succeeds him on the throne. Champa is invaded by the Raja of Kuchi and the Raja of Champa is killed. His sons escape, one to Acheh and one (Shah Indra Berma) to Malacca, where he is welcomed by Sultan Mansur and he and his followers embrace Islam. From them is sprung the Cham community at Malacca. The death of Sultan Mansur. He is succeeded by Raja Radin, his son by the Batara of Majapahit's daughter, who takes the title of Sultan Ala'u'd-din Ri'ayat Shah. The attempt of Raja Tua, his grandmother, to take his life so that Raja Muhammad (exiled to Pahang in chapter XI) should succeed to the throne.

The whims of Bendahara Paduka Raja. Sultan Ala'u'd-din puts down robbery in Malacca by himself acting as policeman in disguise. The visit of the Raja of the Moluccas and his prowess as a *sepak raga* player. The visit of the Telanai of Trengganu 'without the knowledge of' the Sultan of Pahang results in the murder of the Telanai and vigorous reprisals from Malacca. Similarly an execution of an offender by the Raja of Siak 'without the knowledge of' Malacca earns Sultan Ibrahim a stern rebuke. The death of Bendahara Paduka Raja.

(Shellabear, chh. XXI, XXIII, XXV and XXVI)

Here now is a story of the Raja of Champa which according to the account we have received is as follows.

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There was a certain Raja of Champa who lived in a city named Malapatata. Near the palace of the Raja of Champa there was an areca palm, on which there was a blossom of great size; but wait as they might for it to unfold, it still did not unfold. And the Raja of Champa said to his slave, "Climb the palm and see what is the matter with that blossom."

And the boy climbed the palm, picked the blossom and brought it down. The Raja opened the blossom and beheld therein a male child of great beauty. And the sheath of the blossom became the state gong known as *Jëming*, while the stamen of it became the sword known as *bêlatau*, which is the state sword of the Raja of Champa. And the Raja of Champa was delighted with the child, to whom he gave the name of Raja Pau Glang. He ordered that the child be suckled by the wives of princes and ministers, but it refused to take the breast. Now the Raja of Champa had a brindled cow with a young calf. He milked the calf and gave the child the milk: and the child took it. Which is why to this day the Chams refuse to drink cow's milk or to kill a cow.

Pau Glang grew up. And it happened that the Raja of Champa who found Pau Glang had a daughter, called Pau Bia. This daughter the Raja of Champa gave in marriage to Pau Glang who came forth from the palm blossom. And when in the course of time the Raja of Champa died, Pau Glang became Raja in succession to his father-in-law. When Pau Glang had come to the throne he built a city so great that it encompassed seven^{†422} mountains, and its extent was such that one side^{†423} of it made a whole day's voyage with a fresh wind. When the city was completed, he gave it the name of Yak. After a time Pau Glang had a son, called Pau Tri. When Pau Tri had grown up, Pau Glang died and Pau Tri became Raja and was duly installed as the successor of his father. Pau Tri took to wife a princess named Bia Suri, by whom he had a son. He called his son Pau Gma; and when in the course of time Pau Gma grew up, Pau Tri died and was succeeded on the throne by Pau Gma. And Pau Gma had ships made ready to take him to Majapahit to do homage. ^{†424} (And when the ships were ready, he set forth to Majapahit and) after a voyage of some days he reached Menara(?) When the Batara of Majapahit heard that the Raja of Champa was on his way to Majapahit to do homage, he commanded his chiefs to welcome him. And when they had met Pau Gma, they escorted him into Majapahit with every mark of honour and distinction. (And when he reached Majapahit) Pau Gma was married by the Batara to his daughter Radin Galoh Ajang. After a time Radin Galoh was with child. And Pau Gma sought leave to return to his country. The Batara of Majapahit agreed, but said, "I cannot consent to your

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[136—137] taking my daughter with you.' And Pau Gma answered, "So be it; never would I oppose the wishes of your Highness. I myself, all †⁴²⁵ being well, will soon return hither to present myself before your Highness." Pau Gma then took leave of his wife Radin Galoh; and she asked, "If your child is born, what shall be his name?" Pau Gma replied, "If my child is born, his name shall be Raja Jakanak. When he comes to man's estate, send him to me in Champa." And his wife agreed. Pau Gma then went aboard his ship and set forth on the return voyage to Champa. After he had departed Radin Galoh Ajang brought forth a son, to whom she gave the name Raja Jakanak. And when the child had grown up, his mother told him of the injunctions his father had left with her. When Raja Jakanak heard the words of his mother, he gave orders for planks†⁴²⁶ to be made for fitting to a number of ships: and when the work had been completed he sought leave of the Batara of Majapahit to go and see his father in Champa. And when after a long voyage he reached Champa, he went to the palace and presented himself before his father, Pau Gma. And Pau Gma was overjoyed to see his son and installed him as Raja Jakanak who succeeded him as ruler of Champa. And he took as his consort one Pau Ji Bat Ji, and by her he had a son, named Pau Kubah.

When Pau Kubah had grown up, Raja Jakanak died and Pau Kubah became Raja. He took for his consort Pau Mēchat, by whom he had several sons and daughters. One of the daughters was exceedingly beautiful and her hand in marriage was sought by the Raja of Kuchi, but Pau Kubah rejected his suit. The Raja of Kuchi accordingly invaded Champa: and the men of Kuchi fought a fierce battle with the men of Champa. One day the Raja of Kuchi sent messengers to the Treasurer of Champa to win him over to his side. The Treasurer of Champa acquiesced (and undertook to) open the gate. Accordingly when day dawned he opened the gate and the men of Kuchi entered the city and fought the men of Champa, some of whom resisted, while the others concerned themselves with saving their families. And Yak fell and the Raja of Champa was killed. And the children of the Raja of Champa together with the ministers scattered and fled in all directions. Two sons of the Raja, one of them named Indra Berma Shah and the other Shah Palembang, escaped by ship, Shah Palembang to Acheh and Shah Indra Berma (sic) to Malaka. Sultan Mansur Shah was well pleased to see Shah Indra Berma (and his followers), and he ordered them all to embrace Islam. Shah Indra Berma, his consort Kini Mertam and all who accompanied them accordingly embraced Islam. And Sultan Mansur Shah made Shah Indra Berma one of his ministers and he became one of his great favourites. That was the origin of the

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[137—138] Chams†⁴²⁸ of Malaka, all of whom are sprung from Shah Indra Berma and his descendants.

And when Sultan Mansur Shah had reigned for seventy-three years, then in the process of time he fell sick. And summoning his children, the Bendahara and the chiefs, he said to them, "Be it known to all of you, this world I feel to be slipping from my grasp and all that I now yearn for is the City of Eternity. To Bendahara Paduka Raja and all the chiefs we commit our son Raja†⁴²⁹ Radin here; he shall take my place with you all and if he does aught that is wrong, you must forgive him, for he is but a boy, ignorant of our customs. All the more therefore should you instruct him in any and every matter." Then turning to his son Raja Radin he said, "Upon you is laid the duty of faithfully cherishing those who are subject to you and of liberally forgiving any offences they may commit, as we are bidden by Almighty God in the words 'Verily God is with them that shew forbearance.' If you are confronted with your own business and the business of God, put the business of God before your own: and submit yourself utterly to the will of God, for the Prophet saith 'Resign Thyself to the will of God and that shall suffice unto thee'. Do as I am telling you, my son, and assuredly you shall receive the blessing of Almighty God and the blessing of his Prophet (may God bless him and give him peace)." And when they heard these words of Sultan Mansur Shah, they all wept bitterly: and Bendahara Paduka Raja and the ministers said, "Crush not our hearts, your Highness, with such words. Verily do we make a vow that if it shall please Almighty God this time to heal your Highness of the sickness that is upon you, all the wealth that the treasury holds shall be distributed by us as alms to the poor and needy. But—†⁴³⁰ though God forbid that it should be so—if perchance the grass should wither in your Highness' mead, then our sole concern shall be to give effect to your Highness' bidding." Sultan Mansur Shah then died, and he was buried with all the traditional ceremonies accorded to princes. And he was succeeded on the throne by Raja Radin, who was installed by Bendahara Paduka Raja with the title of Sultan Ala'u'd-din Ri'ayat Shah.. Now Sultan Ala'u'd-din was a man of such strength that he had no rival in those days. And it happened that after a time Sultan Ala'u'd-din fell sick†⁴³¹ of a diarrhoea, so acute that he was easing himself twelve times a day. Bendahara Paduka Raja and the Laksamana never left the Raja's side, (the Bendahara) feeding him, as one would feed a child, ten or twenty times a day and the Laksamana bathing him twenty or thirty times a day. Now Sultan Ala'u'd-din had a grandmother, who was known as Raja Tua: she was the mother of Raja Mansur Shah and her grandson, Sultan Muhammad, who was the ruler (of Pahang) was a great favourite of hers. She desired the death

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[138—139] of Sultan Ala'u'd-din so that Sultan Muhammad Shah should become Raja of Malaka. After a few days Sultan Ala'u'd-din was a little better and he had a meal of rice and milk; but he then had a relapse and was on the point of death. Bendahara Paduka Raja and the Laksamana were informed and came forthwith to the palace. Raja Tua's idea was, "Let me get to the palace and I will lay myself down on Sultan Ala'u'd-din and weep over him, so that he may die while I lie upon him." When Raja Tua arrived and wished to approach the bedside of Sultan Ala'u'd-din, Bendahara Paduka Raja and the Laksamana forbade her, saying, "Go not, your Highness, near to your grandson!" And Raja Tua said, "Here am I^{†342} come to the death bed and I'm not allowed to come near?" To which they replied, "If your Highness goes near him, we will attack you!" Then said Raja Tua, "Behold^{†433}, here are Malays being disloyal!" And the Bendahara and the Laksamana answered, "Yes, this^{†434} once Malays will be disloyal! If your Highness persists in going near your grandson, nothing shall stop us attacking you!" Raja Tua accordingly abandoned the idea of approaching Sultan Ala'u'd-din. And Bendahara Paduka Raja, the Treasurer^{†434a} and the Laksamana tended Sultan Ala'u'd-din diligently and he was preserved by God Almighty: his allotted span in the Book of Life was not yet rubbed^{†434b} out.

And Sultan Ala'u'd-din recovered. And he gave robes of honour to Bendahara Paduka Raja and the Laksamana; and he also gave to each of them a litter^{†435} in which they were to be carried wherever they went, with their people escorting them. Now Bendahara Paduka Raja had his litter wrapped in yellow (and hung) in his public hall. And his people said to him, "How is it that you are so simple, sir? The Raja gives you a litter but you merely store it! The Laksamana is given a litter by the Raja and he is carried in it wherever he goes, escorted by his people marching alongside the litter. That makes a fine show. But you, sir, if ever you do^{†436} go out in your litter, never have one of us to escort you!" And Bendahara Paduka Raja answered, "Is it I^{†437} who am so simple (or is it you)? When the Laksamana goes out in his litter with his people marching alongside, strangers who see him ask, 'Who is that in the litter?' and they are told 'That is the Laksamana.' Then they ask, 'Is he a great man, this Laksamana?' And people answer, 'Yes, he is.' Then they ask, 'Is there any one greater than he?' And people answer, 'Yes, Bendahara Paduka Raja is greater than he.' Well then, if I go out in my litter, equally people will ask, 'Is he a great man, this Bendahara?' And the answer will come, 'Yes, he is.' Then they will ask, 'Is there any one greater than he?' And they will get the answer, 'No, there is not.'" Assuredly those who do not know the real position will take me for the Raja himself, for our Raja is yet but a boy. And there is another thing. If the Raja

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[139—140] goes out in his litter, all of you escort the litter. That being so, I am likely to be confused with the Raja, and where then would be his superiority over me? As for the Laksamana, his people do not appear at court, whereas all of you are always in the Raja's audience-hall." This retort silenced Bendahara Paduka Raja's people.

Now it was the habit of Bendahara Paduka Raja, if ever he obtained a good boat or a good weapon and the Laksamana coming to hear of it asked to see it, to refuse to show it to him. The Laksamana however would persist with his request to see it; and when he became importunate, then at last Bendahara Paduka Raja would shew it to him. No sooner had the Laksamana set eyes on the thing than he would take it. This happened time and again. And the Bendahara's people said to him, "How is it that you are so simple, sir? If ever you have a good weapon or a good boat you give it to the Laksamana, with the result that your own people get not a thing!" And Bendahara Paduka Raja replied, "Is it I⁴³⁸ who am so simple, or you? If I have a good elephant or a good horse, ask me for it if you like. But what do any of you know about such things (as weapons and boats)? The Laksamana is a great war-chief and that is why, if I have a good weapon, I give it to him, so that if the Raja's enemies attack we can pit him against them and people will be sure to regard him not as the Raja's war-chief but as our war-chief?" And when the Bendahara's people heard this, they kept silent.

After Sultan Ala'u'd-din had been some years on the throne he had a number of sons and daughters by his consort, Tun†⁴³⁹ Naja, who was a daughter of the old Sri Nara 'diraja and a sister of the Sri Maharaja. Of the sons one was called Sultan Ahmad, another Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jamal: and his eldest daughter he gave in marriage to (a son of) the†⁴⁴⁰ Raja (of Pahang) called Sultan Ahmad. By his royal wife Sultan Ala'u'd-din had two sons, Raja Menawar Shah and Raja Zainal. Raja Menawar Shah was older than Raja Mahmud†⁴⁴¹, but it was Raja Mahmud that Sultan Ala'u'd-din wished should succeed him on the throne.

Now it happened once that thieves were rife in the city of Malaka and people were being robbed night after night. So distressed was Sultan Ala'u'd-din to hear of the depredations of these thieves that one night having dressed himself like a thief he went in disguise with Hang Isak and Hang Siak round the city to see what was going on. On reaching a certain spot the king came upon five thieves carrying a chest slung on a pole. He set upon them and the thieves took fright and bolted, all five of them, and they threw†⁴⁴² away (?) the chest. And Sultan Ala'u'd-din said to Hang Isak, "Stand guard over this chest." And

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[140—141] Hang Isak answered, "Very well, your Highness." Sultan Ala'u'd-din and Hang Siak then went off in pursuit of the five thieves, who fled up the hill. The king followed them up the hill and over-took them under a *bodi** tree. With a shout Sultan Ala'u'd-din slashed at one of them and cut him in half, cleaving his waist as though it had been a gourd. The other four thieves ran away towards the bridge, pursued by the king. And when they came to the entrance of the bridge†⁴⁴³ the king killed another of them; whereupon the remaining three dived into the water and swam to the other side of the river. Sultan Ala'u'd-din then returned, and when he reached the gate where Hang Isak was standing guard (? over the chest), he said to Hang Isak, "Take this chest to your house." And Hang Isak replied, "Very well, your Highness." Sultan Ala'u'd-din then returned to the palace.

The next morning Sultan Ala'u'd-din appeared in the audience hall and Bendahara Paduka Raja, the chiefs, officers, knights, courtiers, heralds and war-chiefs all were present. Addressing the Sri Maharaja, because he was the Temenggong, Sultan Ala'u'd-din asked, "Was there a guard last night?" When the Sri Maharaja answered that there was, Sultan Ala'u'd-din said, "We hear that a man was killed on the hill and another at the entrance to the bridge. Whose†⁴⁴⁴ was the man that killed each of the two men?" And when the Sri Maharaja answered that he did not know, Sultan Ala'u'd-din remarked, "Your guard seems to be of little use, Sri Maharaja; we hear that thieves are rampant in this city!" He then sent for Hang Isak and Hang Siak, bidding them bring the chest. When in due course they appeared†⁴⁴⁵ with the chest, Sultan Ala'u'd-din asked, "What did you hear off†⁴⁴⁶ last night? Tell the Bendahara and all the chiefs here present." Hang Isak and Hang Siak then related all that had happened: whereupon the chiefs did obeisance to Sultan Ala'u'd-din with fear in their hearts and their heads bent low in shame. Sultan Ala'u'd-din then ordered inquiry to be made for the owner of the chest. This was done and a merchant name Ki Tirubalam was found to be the owner. Sultan Ala'u'd-din accordingly ordered the chest to be restored to him: after which Sultan Ala'u'd-din retired into the palace and the chiefs returned each to his own house.

That night the Sri Maharaja kept a very strict guard and he came upon a thief, whom he slashed with his sword, severing the man's arm from the shoulder: and the severed arm hung on the crossbar of a shop. The next morning when the shopkeeper was opening her shop she was startled to behold a man's arm hanging from the crossbar and she shrieked†⁴⁴⁷ aloud. From that

* *Ficus religiosa*

[141—142] day onwards there were no more thieves in Malaka. That was how Sultan Ala'u'd-din ruled in Malaka.

And it happened once that a man had committed some offence against Raja Mahmud, the son of Sultan Ala'u'd-din who was going to succeed to the throne: and although the man's offence was nothing^{†448} serious, the Sri Maharaja^{†448a} ordered him to be put to death, and he was killed. When this came to the ears of Bendahara Paduka Raja he said, "Look at the Sri Maharaja, he's teaching^{†449} a tiger cub to eat flesh. One of these days^{†449a} he himself will be caught by the tiger!"

Ere long the Raja of the Moluccas came to Malaka to do homage; and it happened that at that time the Telanai^{†450} of Trengganu and the Raja of Rekan were at Malaka doing homage. The Raja of the Moluccas was given robes of honour and other presents as befitted his rank. He was an expert at Malay football (*sepak raga*) and the young nobles of Malaka played football with him, he being the leader^{†451} in each game. When the ball came to him, he would kick it himself a hundred or even a hundred and fifty times before he passed it to someone else; and he would indicate to whomsoever he proposed to give the ball and then pass it without once making a mistake. Then he would sit down on a chair to rest and be fanned by men in pairs, while the young men went on playing. Then when (? he resumed playing and) the ball came to him, the Raja of the Moluccas would kick it himself for as long as it takes to cook pot^{†452} after pot of rice and the ball would stay up in the air until he wished to pass^{†453} it to someone else: such was his^{†454} skill at the game. And he was possessed of great strength: with a single stroke of his sword^{†455} he could cut through a coconut palm big^{†456} enough to be bearing fruit. The Telanai of Trengganu could drive a spear through such a palm, and Sultan Ala'u'd-din who was even more powerful still, could shoot it away with an arrow! The Raja of the Moluccas and the Telanai of Trengganu were great favourites of Sultan Ala'u'd-din.

One day the Raja of the Moluccas borrowed a horse from Maulana Yusuf: which prompted the following verse

My lord of Maluka borrowed a horse;
From the Maulana he borrowed it;
Of our young men he's the life and soul;
Yet he's mature in wisdom and wit!

After they had stayed for some while in Malaka, the Raja of the Moluccas and the Telanai of Trengganu took their leave of Sultan Ala'u'd-din and returned each to his own country. And when Sultan Muhammad in Pahang heard that Tun Telanai of Trengganu had gone to Malaka to pay homage without^{†457} his

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[142—143] consent he ordered the Sri Akar Raja to go to Trengganu and kill the Telanai. And when the Sri Akar Raja reached Trengganu, he sent for the Telanai. But the Telanai refused to come, saying, "Is it in accordance with the custom that one†⁴⁵⁸ war-chief should summon another?" The Sri Akar Raja then ordered that the Telanai should be attacked and killed, and the Telanai was killed. The Sri Akar Raja then returned to Pahang and Sultan Muhammad gave Trengganu to him as his fief. But when the news reached Malaka that the Telanai of Trengganu had been killed on the orders of the Sultan of Pahang, Sultan Ala'u'd-din was highly enraged and said, "(The Raja of) Pahang has flouted our authority and I am minded to order the invasion of his country." But Bendahara Paduka Raja said, "May your Highness graciously pardon his humble servant, my advice is that we should not forthwith destroy Pahang, for if anything should happen to the Raja†⁴⁵⁹ of Pahang, it is your Highness who will suffer loss. I suggest that the Laksamana be sent to Pahang." And Sultan Ala'u'd-din answered, "Very well, we will be guided by your advice." So the Laksamana set about preparing ships: and when they were ready, the letter he was to take was borne in procession to his ship. He then set sail for Pahang: and when in due course arrived there, word was brought to Sultan Muhammad, the Raja of Pahang, that "the Laksamana has come, having been commanded by your Highness' younger brother to come from Malaka and present himself before you." The king then appeared from the palace and gave an audience; and he gave orders for the letter to be fetched with due ceremony from the ship, this task being assigned to Sri Pekerma Raja Pahlawan, Bendahara of Pahang. When he reached the Laksamana's ship, the Laksamana disembarked; and the letter he brought was formally received and borne by elephant in procession, with two white umbrellas side by side, drums, pipe and trumpet. And the Laksamana gave instructions to one of his men that when†⁴⁶⁰ the letter had been read he †^{460a} was to kill a relative of the Sri Akar Raja. The man duly accepted the instructions. When the letter was brought into the palace precincts, all those present in audience left the hall and the Raja of Pahang remained alone. The elephant bearing the letter was then brought alongside the hall of audience, the letter was taken down from the elephant and it was then read. It was worded thus:—"Greetings and prayers to God from the younger brother to the elder brother."

When the letter had been read, all took their appointed seats, the Laksamana did obeisance and then seated himself. Hardly were they seated when there came the sound as of a tumult outside. The Raja of Pahang asked what the tumult was and received the answer, "Your Highness, one of the Laksamana of Malaka's men has murdered the Sri Akar Raja's cousin." And

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[143] the Raja of Pahang said to the Laksamana, "one of your men, sir, has killed a cousin of the Sri Akar Raja. Please inquire into matter, sir." [For it was the custom of the Raja of Pahang to call Malaka chiefs†⁴⁶¹ "sir"] The Laksamana then gave orders for the man who had done the killing to be brought in. And the man came in, bound. The Laksamana asked him whether it was true that he had killed a relative of the Sri Akar Raja. When the man admitted that he had, the Laksamana said to the Raja of Pahang, "It is true that the man killed a cousin of the Sri Akar Raja. Nevertheless I cannot consent to any account being taken of this, for the Sri Akar Raja himself offended against the Raja of Malaka in killing the Telanai of Trengganu without obtaining sanction from Malaka." And the Raja of Pahang was silent. After the Laksamana had stayed some time in Pahang he sought the Raja's leave to depart. And the Raja of Pahang replied to the letter from Malaka to the following effect, "The elder brother sends obeisance to his younger brother." The Laksamana was then given robes of honour by the king, and the letter was borne in procession to the ship in accordance with custom. The Laksamana then set forth on his return journey to Malaka: and when he arrived there, Sultan Ala'u'd-din gave orders for the letter to be brought from the ship and borne by elephant in procession, with one white umbrella and one yellow umbrella. When the procession reached the outer†⁴⁶² gate, the elephant was made to kneel†⁴⁶³ and the letter was carried on foot, the drums and pipe remaining outside. When the procession reached the palace, the herald on the right hand was ordered to receive the letter. Orders were then given for the letter to be read. When the letter had been read, the Laksamana went up and did homage and then sat down at his appointed place. And when Sultan Ala'u'd-din questioned him, the Laksamana told him all that had happened. And Sultan Ala'u'd-din was well pleased and bountifully rewarded the Laksamana.

To come now to Sultan Ibrahim†⁴⁶⁴, Raja of Siak. There was a man of Siak who had offended against him and he ordered Tun Jana Fakil to put the man to death. Tun Jana Fakil did as he was ordered, and presently the news reached Malaka that the Raja of Siak had put a man to death without sanction from Malaka. Sultan Ala'u'd-din accordingly commanded the Laksamana to go to Siak. The Laksamana had ships made ready, the letter to Siak was taken to the Laksamana's ship and he sailed for Siak. When he arrived at Siak, Sultan Ibrahim ordered the letter to be received from the ship (and borne in procession to the palace) with the same ceremonial as the Raja†⁴⁶⁵ of Pahang used for having letters brought from a ship. The elephant bearing the letter was brought alongside the hall of audience, the letter was formally received and was then read.

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[143—144] When it had been read, the Laksamana said to Tun Jana Fakil, "Is it true that you killed Tun (so and so) son of Tun (so and so)?" And Tun Jana Fakil answered, "It is true: I was commanded to do it by the Raja." Then the Laksamana turned away†⁴⁶⁶ from Sultan Ibrahim and facing Tun Jana Fakil he pointed to him with his left†^{466a} hand and said, "You are a man of little†⁴⁶⁷ discretion! You must indeed be a jungleman not†⁴⁶⁸ to know the rudiments of proper behaviour! Do you think it is permitted to put people to death without sanction from Malaka? Are you going to be a law unto yourselves here in Siak?" And Sultan Ibrahim and his chiefs were silent and made no answer to the Laksamana.

After the Laksamana had been some time in Siak he sought leave to depart. And Sultan Ibrahim gave him robes of honour and sent a letter to Malaka, which ran as follows "The elder brother has erred, he can only hope for the generous pardon of his younger brother." The letter was taken (to the ship?) and the Laksamana set out on his return voyage. When he arrived at Malaka, the letter was taken†⁴⁶⁹ (to the palace?) and when it had been brought in to the Raja it was read. After it had been read, the Laksamana did homage and went to his seat. And when Sultan Ala'u'd-din inquired of the Laksamana, the Laksamana told him of all that had happened: and Sultan Ala'u'd-din was well pleased and richly rewarded the Laksamana.

And Bendahara Paduka Raja fell grievously sick. And he sent for all his family, including those who lived a whole day's journey or even two day's journey away. And when they had all assembled, he gave to them his dying injunctions, speaking thus to them, "Think not, my children, to truck your religion for (the attractions of) this world: for this†⁴⁷⁰ world will not endure, and for those that live there is but one end and that is death. In all sincerity of heart do your duty towards God Almighty and the Apostle of God (may God bless him and give him peace). And do your duty towards **your** Raja, forgetting not what the divines†⁴⁷¹ tell us, that a just prince†⁴⁷² is joined with the Prophet of God like two†⁴⁷³ jewels in one ring. Moreover the Raja is as it were the deputy of God. When you do your duty to the Prophet of God it is as though you were doing it to God Himself, as says the Word of God in the Koran "Ati'u'llaha wa' ati'u'r-rasula wa' ulu'l-amri minkum", that is to say 'Do your duty towards God and the Apostle of God'. These are my last injunctions. Forget them not, that you may obtain the glory of this world and the world to come."

The Bendahara then turned his eyes towards (the Sri Nara†⁴⁷⁴ 'diraja) Sri Maharaja Mutahir, to whom he said, "You, Mutahir, will be a great man; your greatness will exceed mine. But think not to play the part of uncle†⁴⁷⁵ of the Raja. If such a thought

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[145] comes into your mind, you will be killed." The Bendahara then turned towards Tun Zainal 'Abidin, to whom he said, "Tun Zainal-'Abidin, if you fail to obtain office†⁴⁷⁶ at court, go and dwell in the forest, for shoots and leaves make a good enough†⁴⁷⁷ meal for a man with a small†⁴⁷⁸ appetite!" And to Tun Pawah the Bendahara said, "Dwell not in the city, Pawah! Go dwell on some river reach that the scum†⁴⁷⁹ which floats down the river may turn into gold for you." And then to Tun Isak he said, "Isak, seek not your livelihood in the Raja's audience-hall!" Such were the last injunctions of Bendahara Paduka Raja to his family; not after the same fashion to all of them but as was appropriate to each.

And when Sultan Ala'u'd-din heard that Bendahara Paduka Raja was grievously ill, he went to see him. And Bendahara Paduka Raja did obeisance to Sultan Ala'u'd-din and said, "I feel, your Highness, that this world is slipping from my grasp; it is only on the world to come that my hopes†⁴⁸⁰ now repose. Harken not, I pray your Highness, to words that have not the truth in them. If your Highness shall listen to such words, you cannot but regret it in the end. And let not your Highness yield to the lusts of the flesh, for many are the princes whose kingdoms have been brought to nought by Almighty God because they yielded to their fleshly lusts."

Thereupon Bendahara Paduka Raja returned to the Mercy of God, and he was buried by Sultan Ala'u'd-din according to the custom for bendaharas. And Tun Perpatih Puteh, younger brother of Bendahara Paduka Raja, was made Bendahara in his stead by Sultan Ala'u'd-din: he was known as Bendahara Puteh. Bendahara Puteh had a son, Tun Abu Saiyit, who was a good-looking man. This Tun Abu Saiyit had two sons; the elder had the title of Sri Amar Bangsa, the younger was called Tun Muhammad. He had two sons, Tun Udan and Tun Sulit, and two daughters, of whom one was the mother of Tun Hamzah and the other was the mother of Dato' Darat. Tun Muhammad was, for†⁴⁸¹ a Malay, a learned man; he had a smattering of Arabic grammar and syntax and canon law and some slight knowledge of doctrinal theology.

Chapter XV

The quarrel between Haru and Pasai and the cause of it. The ruler of Haru (for no specified reason) orders a raid on the outlying territories of Malacca. The raiders are defeated, thanks to the bravery of the Sri Bija 'diraja and Tun Isak Berakah. Sultan Ala'u'd-din orders an attack on Kampar (here also no reason is given). It is successful and Sultan Ala'u'd-din puts in his son, Raja Menawar, as ruler of Kampar. The death of Sultan Ala'u'd-din. He is succeeded by his son Raja Mamat (sic), who becomes Sultan Mahmud Shah. The Sri Bija 'diraja incurs his displeasure and is put to death., The incident of

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Tun Bayajit. The Sriwa Raja is a great favourite. His oddities. Only the loyalty of Malays to their rulers saves Sultan Mahmud from death at the hands of an injured husband. The Sriwa Raja's uncanny power over elephants and horses. Handsome Raja Zainu'l-'Abidin and the debauchery of Malacca. The conquest of Kelantan. (*Shellabear, chapter XXIV as far as the top of page 148; then chapter XVII up to first paragraph of page 149; then chapter XXVI*).

Here now is a story of Haru. The Raja of Haru was called Maharaja 'diraja: he was a son of Sultan Sajak who traced his descent from the Rock†⁴⁸² (which seemed to be upstream if one was descending the stream and downstream if one was going up—Sh.). Maharaja 'diraja sent an embassy to Pasai: the envoy was Raja Pahlawan†⁴⁸³. When he reached Pasai, the letter was borne in procession and taken to the hall of audience. It was duly received by the letter-reader, who then read it. Now what was written in the letter was, "the younger brother presents his greetings:" but what was read was, "the younger brother presents his obeisance to his elder brother." Raja Pahlawan thereupon observed, "The letter says one†⁴⁸⁴ thing but you are reading another!" The reader however persisted in reading "the younger brother presents his obeisance to his elder brother." Once again Raja Pahlawan said, "The letter says one thing but you are reading another." (And he added) Let me die here in Pasai and not in Haru! Even if I am to be eaten by the dogs of Pasai, they shall†⁴⁸⁵ know how to say the right word!" And when yet again the man read the letter as before, Raja Pahlawan flew into a rage and ran amuck, killing any number of Pasai men. Thereupon the men of Pasai killed Raja Pahlawan and his Haru followers: and that was the cause of the feud between Pasai and Haru. Afterwards Maharaja 'diraja ordered his†⁴⁸⁶ war-chief Sri Indra to lay waste the outlying districts of Malaka†⁴⁸⁷. At that time from Tanjong Tuan to Jugra there was a continuous line of dwelling-houses; this was the stretch of coast that was ravaged by the men of Haru.

When Sultan Ala'u'd-din heard of this, he ordered the Paduka Tuan, son of Bendahara Paduka Raja, to intercept the Haru fleet, and the Laksamana, the Sri Bijaya (?Bija) 'diraja and all the war-chiefs were ordered to accompany the Paduka Tuan. The Paduka Tuan and the war-chiefs accordingly set out and when the Malaka fleet reached Tanjong Tuan waters, they encountered the fleet of Haru and battle was joined. The din of the fighting was like the crack of doom. But the Haru fleet so greatly outnumbered the fleet of Malaka that for one ship of the Sri Bija 'diraja's there were three ships of Haru: and weapons fell like rain. Men of Haru attacked the ship of the Sri Bija 'diraja and the ship of the Sri Bija 'diraja was worsted and the crew jumped overboard. At that moment Tun Isak Berakah, son of Tun

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[146—147] Pekerma Wira, grandson of the Paduka Tuan and great-grandson of Bendahara Paduka Raja, came aboard the Sri Bija 'diraja's ship. He and the Sri Bija 'diraja did not jump overboard like the crew but stood fast in the ship, though the men of Haru had boarded it and made themselves masters of half the forepart of the vessel. And Tun Isak said to the Sri Bija 'diraja, "Now then, chief, let us attack these Haru men!" But the Sri Bija 'diraja replied, "Wait a while." When the Haru men had advanced as far as the mainmast, Tun Isak cried, "Come, let us attack!" But the Sri Bija 'diraja answered, "It's not the moment yet." By this time the men of Haru had come as far as the well (?)†⁴⁸⁸ of the ship, and again Tun Isak cried, "Come, chief, let us attack!" But the Sri Bija 'diraja replied, "Wait awhile, my friend, it's not yet the right moment", and he went into the cabin†⁴⁸⁹. Then said Tun Isak, "For shame! I thought this Sri Bija 'diraja was a brave man and that is why I came aboard his ship! Had I but known he was a coward, I should have done better to go aboard the ship of the Laksamana!" And now the men of Haru had penetrated as far as the entrance to the covered part of the ship, when the Sri Bija 'diraja came out and said to Tun Isak, "Now then, Che' Isak, come on! The moment has arrived!" Tun Isak agreed, and the two of them fell upon the enemy. The men of Haru broke and fled and jumped over board. Some of them retreated to their own ship, pursued by the Sri Bija 'diraja and Tun Isak who boarded†⁴⁹⁰ the ship and captured it. And the crew of the Sri Bija 'diraja's ship who had taken to the water came back on board. The Sri Bija 'diraja then ordered a general attack, and the Haru line of battle was broken and the ships fled, to be pursued by the men of Malaka who attacked once more. This time the Haru men fled back to their Raja. And when Maharaja 'diraja heard of the defeat of his fleet, he flew into a rage and cried, "Put me on my elephant†⁴⁹¹ "Bëtong", then if it was Malaka I was fighting, the whole of Malaka (would be no match for me): if it was Pasai, the whole of Pasai (would be no match for me! Only the power†⁴⁹² of God should prevent me from charging down the fort of Malaka with this elephant "Bëtong" of mine!" So saying he ordered another attack on the men of Malaka and the men of Haru set out to attack. By this time the Malaka fleet had reached Pengkalan Dungun (?), where they stopped and the men went ashore to relieve nature. Now there was a Malaka Tamil called Mir Duzul who was of the party, and he landed like the others. Presently he encountered an old he-goat which to him looked like a man. Mir Duzul was startled and fled, fell sprawling, got up again and ran panting after others. And they were alarmed at the sight of Mir Duzul rushing†⁴⁹³ wildly after them like that, and they asked him what was the matter. And he replied, "I met an old Haru man just now. I hudu†⁴⁹⁴ and he dzuful!" When they heard this, they

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[147—148] all advanced inland, weapons in hand, and when they came to the place, they saw it was an old he-goat and not a man. And they all burst out laughing and said, "Damn this Mir Duzul, what fools he has made of us!" They all then returned to their ships. And the Haru fleet appeared and met the fleet of Malaka: and battle was engaged, amid unimaginable din and with arrows falling like heavy rain. And the men of Malaka drove their ships right at the enemy, at the same time pouring a stream†⁴⁹⁵ of darts on them, and the Haru fleet broke and beat a hasty retreat up the river. The Paduka Tuan and the war-chiefs then set out for Malaka, and when in due course they arrived there, they presented themselves before Sultan Ala'u'd-din, who was well pleased to hear of the Malaka victory and rewarded the Paduka Tuan, the Laksamana, the Sri Bija 'diraja and the war-chiefs, all of them being given robes of honour.

Some time afterwards the Sri Bija 'diraja died, leaving two sons, one of whom, Tun Kudu†⁴⁹⁶ (?) was given the title of Sri Bija 'diraja, while the other received the title of Tun Bija 'diraja: it was he who was the father of Sang Setia: the third†⁴⁹⁷ child (was a daughter).....

And Sultan Ala'u'd-din ordered a fleet to be made ready for the conquest of Kampar†^{497a}, under the command of the Sri Nara 'diraja. When it was ready, the Sri Nara 'diraja set forth accompanied by Sang Stia, Sang Naya and the war-chiefs. Ikhtiar Muluk also accompanied the Sri Nara 'diraja. And when they reached Kampar, (word was brought to the Raja?) [Now the Raja of Kampar was called Maharaja Jaya: he was descended from the Raja of Pagar Ruyong and Pekan Tua was his city.] And when the Raja of Kampar heard that the Sri Nara 'diraja was come to attack Kampar, he commanded his chief minister, Tun Damang as he was called, to assemble the forces. Tun Damang set forth accordingly to do his bidding and the forces were assembled complete with weapons. Then the Sri Nara 'diraja arrived and the men of Malaka landed. And Maharaja Jaya went out to resist the attack; he was mounted on an elephant and Tun Damang armed with a spear marched beside the elephant. When the men of Malaka met the men of Kampar, some stabbed at each other with spears, some hacked at each other with battle-axes, some shot at each other with arrows. Many were killed on either side and blood flowed like a river over the ground.

So strongly†⁴⁹⁸ did the men of Malaka attack the men of Kampar (that the men of Kampar gave ground). When Maharaja Jaya and Tun Damang saw this, they forthwith dashed†⁴⁹⁹ in and attacked the men of Malaka (? wading†⁵⁰⁰ in blood and) leaving mounds of corpses wherever they attacked. The men of Malaka retreated to the water's edge, save only the Sri Nara

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[148—149] 'diraja and Ikhtiar Muluk who stood their ground and refused to budge. And when Maharaja Jaya and Tun Damang (? attacked†⁵⁰¹ again) together with all the Kampar fighting men showering their weapons like rain, the Sri Nara 'diraja cried to Maharaja Jaya, "Your Highness, I ask for this piece of ground on which I stand. If your Highness persists†⁵⁰² in trying to take it from me, then I will present (at your heart) this spear which your Highness' elder brother gave me!" Tun Damang then stabbed Ikhtiar Muluk through the shoulder with his spear. And Ikhtiar Muluk took his headcloth (and handed it) to the Sri Nara 'diraja, saying, "I have been wounded, chief", whereupon the Sri Nara 'diraja bandaged the wound. Ikhtiar Muluk, who was armed with a bow†⁵⁰³ of the Persian (?) type (?), then shot Tun Damang clean†⁵⁰⁴ through the temples and Tun Damang fell on his face beside the elephant of Maharaja Jaya. When Maharaja Jaya saw that Tun Damang had been killed, he drove his elephant at the Sri Nara 'diraja: and the Sri Nara 'diraja with the spear he had in his hand stabbed Maharaja Jaya right through the chest, so that Maharaja Jaya fell from his elephant and died. When the men of Kampar saw that Maharaja Jaya and Tun Damang had been killed, they broke and fled, followed by the men of Malaka who killed them as they fled and then†⁵⁰⁵ burst (?) into the fort. After the men of Malaka had thoroughly looted the city, the Sri Nara 'diraja returned crowned with victory to Malaka, where he arrived in due course and presented himself before Sultan Ala'u'd-din. And the king was well pleased to hear of the victory over Kampar, and he gave robes of honour to the Sri Nara 'diraja and Ikhtiar Muluk. [Ikhtiar Muluk begat (? the father of) Khoja Bulan, who begat Khoja Muhammad Shah; and he was appointed to stand on the same step leading up to the throne as the heralds] And Kampar was handed over to the Sri Nara 'diraja, and it was he who first established a Governor of Kampar.

The king then ordered the Sri Nara 'diraja to go to Kampar to install his son Menawar†⁵⁰⁶ Shah as Raja, with the Sri Amar†⁵⁰⁷ 'diraja as his Bendahara. The Sri Nara 'diraja went accordingly to Kampar and installed Sultan Menawar Shah as Raja of Kampar, whereafter he returned to Malaka and presented himself before the Sultan.

And when the king had reigned for thirty-three years, then in the process of time he fell sick. And when he realised that his days were numbered, he sent for his son Raja Mamat†⁵⁰⁸ and his chiefs. And when they had all come, the king asked the women attendants to prop him up; and of those who had assembled he ordered five—the Bendahara, the Treasurer, the Temenggong, Kadli Menawar Shah and the Laksamana—to approach his bedside.

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[149—150] Then he said to them, "I would have you know, my friends, that I feel my end to be approaching. If I die, it is my son, Raja Mat here, that I wish you to make Raja in my stead. Take good care of him and love him as you have loved me. If he is guilty of errors and follies, be generous in pardoning them: and watch^{†509} over him, for he is only a child."

And when they heard these words of Sultan Ala'u'd-din, tears streamed from their eyes, though they were not aware of them; and weeping they said "May God lengthen the days of your Highness, for we have not yet had our fill of serving you. But if, though^{†510} God forbid it, the flower in your Highness' grasp should wither, then will we carry out the wishes of your Highness, for never would we^{†511} do obeisance to another Raja." And the king was well pleased with what they said, and looking upon the face of his son Raja Mamat, he said to him, "Know well, my son, that this world will not endure. Yea, my son, all that liveth here upon earth cannot but^{†512} die in the end; it is only the True Faith that endures for all time. When I am gone, be diligent in God's service; abstain from taking other men's goods unlawfully, for God's poor are all entrusted to your keeping. If they are in distress, be swift to help them. If they are victims of injustice, inquire diligently into the matter, so that in the day of Judgment Almighty God may not lay a heavy burden of responsibility upon you, for thus saith the Prophet (may God bless him and give him peace) *Kulukum ra'in wa-kullukum mas'ulun min ra'iy-yatihi*, which means 'all ye who tend will be questioned as to your^{†513} tending': that is to say, all rulers will be questioned by God as to the manner in which they have tended their subjects. Therefore it is your bounden duty to do justice and be diligent in inquiry so that some day in the world to come you may be taken into God's loving care for all eternity. See to it that you consult with your ministers and chiefs, for no ruler, however great his wisdom and understanding, shall prosper or succeed in doing justice unless he consults with those in authority under him. For rulers are like fire and their ministers are like firewood, and fire needs wood to produce a flame: *ar-ra'iyatu jurthum-atun sultanun darakht*, which means 'subjects are like roots and the ruler is like the tree'; without roots the tree cannot stand upright; so is it with rulers and their subjects. As for the Malays, however grievously they may offend, be not hasty in putting them to death except in cases where that penalty is ordered by the law of God, for the Malays are your clay^{†514} as the Tradition says, 'Al-'abdu tinu'l-murabbi', which being interpreted is 'the slave is as it were (? the clay of) his master'. If you put them to death when they have done no wrong, your kingdom will be brought to nought. Remember, my son, these my last injunctions to you and act upon them^{†515} (?) so that God may grant to you the blessing

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[150—151] which should be yours as a ruler.” And Sultan Ala’u’d-din then died, passing from a perishable world to one that abideth. ‘We are God’s and to God we return.’

And his son, Raja Mamat, reigned in his stead; his title as ruler was Sultan Mahmud Shah. He was a finely built man, there was none to compare with him. Even a creese of Malaka make of three spans’ length was for him but a secondary^{†516} creese. And Bendahara Puteh said to the Sri Bija ‘diraja (who had just arrived from Singapore)^{†517}, “It was Sultan Ala’u’d-din’s dying wish that the Ruler we have now should succeed him on the throne.” And the Sri Bija ‘diraja replied, “I did not hear his dying wish.” When Sultan Mahmud Shah came to hear of what the Sri Bija ‘diraja had said, he made no comment but in his heart^{†518} he bore a grudge against the Sri Bija ‘diraja. Sultan Mahmud Shah begat three children: the son was called Sultan Ahmad^{†519} and it was he who was to succeed his father on the throne: the other two were daughters.

Now the Sri Rama had died, and his son was appointed to succeed him in the office of Sri Rama and as Master of the King’s Elephants, with the same rank as his father. He had two sons, of whom one became Sri Nata and the other Tun Aria. Sri Nata begat Tun Bijayit Hitam, while Tun Aria begat Tun Mamat, who in his turn begat Tun Isahak Tun Pilu.

It happened once that the Sri Bija ‘diraja did not appear at Malaka (on the eve of the Festival). He only arrived on the Festival day itself. And Sultan Mahmud Shah reprimanded the Sri Bija ‘diraja, saying, “Why were you not here in time, Sri Bija ‘diraja? Do you not know the custom?” And the Sri Bija ‘diraja answered, “I was late in starting. I did not expect the new moon would have been seen last night. But I realise that I was negligent and I can only ask your Highness to forgive me.” And Sultan Mahmud Shah said, “No, I know what is in your mind, Sri Bija ‘diraja, you do not like my being Raja.” He thereupon gave orders for the Sri Bija ‘diraja to be put to death. And when the men who were to put him to death came, the Sri Bija ‘diraja said to them, “What is my offence against the Ruler? Can it be that for the trifling offence I have committed I am to be put to death!” When Sultan Mahmud Shah was informed of what the Sri Bija ‘diraja had said, he replied, “If the Sri Bija ‘diraja does not know what his offence is, shew him this writing”. The writing set out four or five offences on the part of the Sri Bija ‘diraja, and when he had looked at it he was silent. And he was put to death. It was to his son Sang Stia Bentayan that the fief of Singapura was given.

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One night Sultan Mahmud Shah went to the house of a woman named Tun Dewi: but when he found that Tun 'Ali was already^{†520} there he turned back. And looking behind him he perceived that among those escorting him was Tun Bayajit, (? grandfather of the Datok Muar). [This Tun Bayajit had two names: at Klang he was known as Tun Isak, whereas at Tembaga he went by the name of Tun Bayajit.] And Sultan Mahmud Shah took^{†521} sireh from his betel-caddy and gave it to Tun Bayajit. And Tun Bayajit thought to himself, "What might be the meaning of the Ruler giving me sireh like this? It looks as though he wants me to kill Tun 'Ali Sandang!" For in by gone days sireh from the Raja's betel-caddy was highly esteemed, it was not given by him to all and sundry. Tun Bayajit accordingly went back to the house of Tun Dewi, where he stabbed Tun 'Ali Sandang in the breast and killed him. After Tun 'Ali Sandang had been killed Tun Bayajit left Tun Dewi's house and presented himself before Sultan Mahmud Shah. And there was great excitement, people crying that Tun 'Ali had been killed by Tun Bayajit. And when the Sriwa Raja was informed, for Tun 'Ali was related to him, he was furious and ordered his people to waylay Tun Bayajit and kill him. Sultan Mahmud Shah thereupon ordered Tun Bayajit to make his escape. He did so and went to Pasai, where however he refused to do homage to the Raja, saying, "Bayajit does homage to none but Sultan Mahmud Shah." From Pasai he went to Haru, and there too he refused to do homage to the Raja. From there he went to Brunai, where also he refused to do homage to the Raja, though he married a daughter of the Raja and founded a family: whence comes it that the Datok Muar has many kinsmen in Brunai. And Tun Bayajit said, "In Malaka was Bayajit born, in Malaka shall he die!" So he returned to Malaka where he presented himself before Sultan Mahmud Shah. The king was dining at the time, and he ordered food to be brought for Tun Bayajit. And when they had eaten, the king embraced Tun Bayajit and kissed him. He then ordered him to be bound with a headcloth and sent to the Sriwa Raja, for, thought Sultan Mahmud Shah, "If I bind Tun Bayajit and send him like that to the Sriwa Raja, he surely will not be killed by the Sriwa Raja." When Tun Bayajit was brought, the Sriwa Raja was mounted on his elephant; and the Raja's servant said to him, "Thus saith the Ruler: 'I send you Tun Bayajit. If he has done any wrong, we ask that he be forgiven.'" But when the Sriwa Raja saw Tun Bayajit, he drove his elephant-goat clean through^{†521a} the crown of Tun Bayajit's head and killed him. The Raja's servant then returned and informed Sultan Mahmud Shah that Tun Bayajit had died at the hand of the Sriwa Raja, who had killed him with an elephant-goat. But Sultan Mahmud Shah said not a word, for the Sriwa Raja was one of the king's chief favourites. At

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[152—153] that time he had four favourites—the Sriwa Raja, Tun ‘Omar, Hang ‘Isa and Hang Husain Chengang.

Now whenever Sultan Mahmud Shah went out for pleasure in the royal barge, he would stop on his way and send for the Sriwa Raja to accompany him. And though he would wait at the Sriwa Raja’s landing-stage as long as it takes to cook pot after pot of rice, still the Sriwa Raja did not appear. For it was his habit, when a royal summons came, to go into his house and have a nap! Not till he was roused by the Raja’s messenger would he get up, ease himself and have a bath. After his bath he would have a meal. After his meal he would don his sarong and he would undo it twelve or thirteen times until he had got it to his liking. Then would come the jacket and the head-cloth, and the process with the sarong would be repeated with them until they too were to his liking. With the scarf also the same thing would happen; it would be put on and then undone again fourteen or fifteen times until it was to his liking. After that he would get as far as the door of the house when he would go back to his wife and ask her to tell him if there was anything amiss with his clothes. If she said that there was something not yet altogether right, he would undo the offending thing and set it to rights. Then at last he would leave the house, but when he had reached the garden, he would go back to the house again and swing in his hammock if you please! It was not until the Raja’s servant bade him hurry that he would leave the house and join the Raja. But if the Raja wanted the Sriwa Raja to come quickly, he would send Tun Isak Berakah to call him. As soon as Tun Isak reached the house, he would say, “Chief, the Raja calls you.” The Sriwa Raja would say “Very well” and forthwith go into the house. But Tun Isak knew the Sriwa Raja’s ways, and he would ask for a mat so that he could lie down on the verandah. Then he would shout, “Tell the Chief I would like some rice, I’m hungry”: and rice would be provided forthwith by the Sriwa Raja. Then when Tun Isak had eaten he would say that he was thirsty and might he have something? And the Sriwa Raja would say, “The Raja has only to send Tun Isak here and there’s no end to what he wants!. Bring me my clothes!” The Sriwa Raja would then don forthwith his sarong, jacket, headcloth, creese and scarf, leave the house and make his way to join Sultan Mahmud Shah, with whom he was such a favourite that Sultan Mahmud Shah would tolerate any sort of behaviour from him.

To shew how fond Sultan Mahmud Shah was of the Sriwa Raja, one day he sent for him, Tun ‘Omar, Hang ‘Isa and Hang Husain Chengang; and when the four of them presented them-

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[153—154] selves before him, he said to them, "What would you have of us? Ask, that we may give it to you, for whatever it may be I (sic) will not refuse it." The first to prefer a request was the Sriwa Raja, who said, "If it please your Highness, I would fain ask that I may be made Master of Elephants." And Sultan Mahmud Shah answered, "We would gladly grant your request, but what are we to do? The Sri Rama still holds that appointment and how†⁵²² should we take it from him when he has done nothing to justify our dismissing him? When he dies, it shall be you, Sriwa Raja, that we appoint to be Master of Elephants." Tun 'Omar then made his request, "If it please your highness, I would fain ask to be made Sea Lord." And Sultan Mahmud Shah replied, "Very good; but the Laksamana still holds that office, how are†⁵²³ we to take it from him? He has done nothing to warrant our dismissing him. When the Laksamana is gone, it is you, Tun 'Omar, that we shall appoint to be Sea Lord." When Hang 'Isa and Hang Husain Chengang saw that neither the Sriwa Raja nor Tun 'Omar had obtained his request at the Raja's hands, both of them reflected awhile. And Sultan Mahmud Shah said to Hang 'Isa and Hang Husain Chengang, "And you, what is it you wish for? Ask it of me." And Hang 'Isa answered, "If it please your Highness, I would fain ask for gold to the amount of thirteen tahils†⁵²⁴ and cloth to the amount of four packs (?)" This the king gave him there and then. Hang Husain Chengang then preferred his request, "If it please your Highness, I would fain ask for about a dozen buffaloes with calves and twelve orchards." This too was granted by the king.

It happened once that Sultan Mahmud Shah was having an intrigue with the wife of Tun Bayajit, the Laksamana's son, taking advantage of Tun Bayajit's absence from the house on a visit to his fief. One night he went to the house of Tun Bayajit's wife, and on the morrow at dawn he was hastening back when he met Tun Bayajit on his way up from the river with a large number of followers whereas Sultan Mahmud Shah had but few men with him. Tun Bayajit realised that Sultan Mahmud Shah was come from his house and had he wanted to take his life there and then, he could have done so. But because as a Malay subject he would not waver in his loyalty to the Raja, he merely balanced his spear in his hand and said, "So that is how you behave, Sultan Mahmud Shah! Alas that you are my master! Were you not, assuredly I would drive this spear of mine through your heart!" And when the Raja's servants were for attacking Tun Bayajit, the king said to them "Hold your hands! What he says is right, I have done†^{524a} him a wrong for which by the law of God he could take my life. It is only because he is a Malay subject who refuses to waver in his loyalty that he behaves as he

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[154—155] is behaving now.” The king then returned to the palace. As for Tun Bayajit he divorced his wife and refused to appear at court or undertake any further court duties. Sultan Mahmud Shah attempted to mollify him by sending him Tun Iram Sendari, one of his mistresses. Tun Bayajit accepted her but still refused to go to court on public^{†524b} occasions.

It happened once that the Sriwa Raja was going to marry the daughter of Kadli Menawar Shah, grandson^{†525} (sic) of Maulana Yusuf, and the wedding festivities were started. And when the propitious moment arrived, the Sriwa Raja went in procession to the wedding, mounted on Sultan Mahmud Shah’s riding elephant Balidamsai. Tun ‘Abdu’l-Karim, Kadli Menawar Shah’s son, was on the elephant’s head, Tun Zainal ‘Abidin sat on the one side of the packsaddle to balance the Sriwa Raja and the Sri Awadana^{†526} sat on the elephant’s croup; and the procession made its way to the house of Kadli Menawar Shah. Now Kadli Menawar Shah was waiting on his land with fireworks and maroons, and the gate of the fence round his land was shut. And Kadli Menawar Shah said, “If the Sriwa Raja can make his way in, he shall have my daughter. If he can’t, there’ll be no wedding, even if I have to lose all that I have spent on it!” When the Sriwa Raja’s elephant reached the gate, Kadli Menawar Shah ordered the fireworks and maroons to be let off; and what with that noise, the noise of the shouting and the noise of the musical instruments, the din was so terrific that Balidamsai was startled and bolted, despite all the efforts of Tun ‘Abdu’l-Karim to hold him. When the Sriwa Raja saw what was happening, he said to Tun ‘Abdu’l-Karim, “Shift to the middle and let me mount his head”. So Tun ‘Abdu’l-Karim moved to the middle and the Sriwa Raja to the elephant’s head, whereupon the Sriwa Raja turned Balidamsai and drove him at Kadli Menawar Shah’s gate. In vain did the fireworks and maroons explode, Balidamsai took no notice of them and crashed through the gate up to the pavilion, where he was brought to a halt. The Sriwa Raja then leapt down on to the floor of the pavilion and the wedding took place, in the presence of Sultan Mahmud Shah. After the wedding came the feast, and Sultan Mahmud Shah then returned to his palace.

Now Kadli Menawar Shah was exceedingly skilled in the use of the sword called *bēladau**, for he had had lessons with the weapon from the Raja^{†527} of the Moluccas when the latter came to do homage at Malaka in the time of Sultan Ala’u’d-din. When Kadli Menawar Shah had company, the verandah on which they sat had a trellis and Kadli Menawar Shah would like his visitors how many^{†528} strips of the trellis they would like him to cut

* a curved single-edged dagger (W.), but possibly here a sword

[155—156] through with a single cut. If they said two, he would cut through two; if they said three, he would cut through three, or as many as they chose to say.

After the Sriwa Raja had been married for some time to Kadli Menawar Shah's daughter, he had a son, Tun 'Omar by name: he was given the title of Sri Pētam and was known as the Chief of Rembat (?). The Sri Pētam had many children, of whom the eldest was called Tun Daud. It was he who was the Chief of the Coastward territory. Another son was called Tun 'Ali Sandang, he was the father of the woman Chief of Muar. Another son was called Tun Bentan, he was the father of Tun Mai: another son was called Tun Hamzah, he was the father of (Tun) Mandurah: another son was called Tun Tukah, he was the father of (Tun) 'Omar who died in Petani: and there were many sons besides these; I do not mention them all here.

The Sriwa Raja had an uncanny knowledge of elephants and horses. He had a favourite white pony which he stabled in a bay of the gallery of his house. If any one wanted to borrow this pony for a ride in the moonlight, the Sriwa Raja would lend it: but no sooner had the borrower ridden the pony two or three courses than the pony would turn round and bring him†⁵²⁹ back to its stable†⁵³⁰. It was only Tun Isak Berakah†⁵³¹ that could borrow the pony as he wished. When he borrowed it and had been brought back to the stable after two or three courses, he would say to the Sriwa Raja's attendants, "Tell the Chief I am thirsty and will he please give me something." The Sriwa Raja would do as he asked. When he had had what he wanted, Tun Isak Berakah would say, "Can I take the pony out again for another ride?" And when the Sriwa Raja agreed, Tun Isak Berakah would ride the pony two or three courses and the pony would bring him back again to the Sriwa Raja's house. Whereupon Tun Isak Berakah would say to the Sriwa Raja's attendants, "Tell the Chief I am hungry and will he please let me have some rice." And the Sriwa Raja would provide rice. After he had eaten Tun Isak Berakah would again go out and after he had ridden the pony two or three courses, back the pony would bring him again. Tun Isak Berakah would then ask for something which gave the Sriwa Raja some trouble to provide, whereupon the Sriwa Raja would say, "Tun Isak†⁵³² has only to come here and there's no end to what he wants! Tell him to take the pony for as long as he wants and ride it the whole night!" Tun Isak Berakah would then take the pony and ride it the whole †^{532a} night.

One day there came to Malaka a Pathan who was an expert horseman, and Sultan Mahmud Shah had him sent to the Sriwa Raja with the message that he was a good rider. And the Sriwa

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[156—157] Raja said, "Can you ride, Khoja?" And when the Pathan replied that he could, the Sriwa Raja said to him, "Try this pony of mine", and he ordered the pony to be saddled and bridled. The Pathan then mounted the pony and applied his spurs. And the Sriwa Raja said, "Give him a touch of the whip, Khoja." So the Pathan applied the whip and was promptly thrown head over heels. And the Sriwa Raja said, "Hullo, Khoja, what's happened to you?" He then shouted for his son 'Omar, and when 'Omar appeared, the Sriwa Raja said to him, "Give the pony a touch of the whip, my lad!" Tun 'Omar did so and the pony began to dance. And the Pathan was astounded by this display of the Sriwa Raja's skill with horses.

The Tun 'Omar who†⁵³³ was a favourite of Sultan Mahmud Shah was a son of the Sri Bija 'diraja, the 'Chief with a stoop', and he was a great fighter. It was this Tun 'Omar whose master†⁵³⁴ guaranteed that he would never be killed by an enemy's weapon, and that was why he was utterly reckless and took no account of any adversary. As for Hang†⁵³⁵ 'Isa the 'Nimble', he shewed remarkable agility in everything that he did. There was a tree trunk that he used as a bridge to get him across the Malaka river, rolling it on the surface of the water first this way, then that, though if any one else trod it in that way, the trunk would sink so that the man was up to his ankles in water. But if Hang 'Isa Pantas was going that way, he would tread the trunk so that it rolled from right to left, then he would tread it so that it rolled from left to right; and in this way he would get right across the river without so much as wetting his instep! As for Hang Husain Chengang, when he was being married to the daughter of Hang Usuh and when after the wedding the ceremonial rice was served and the bride and bridegroom had each taken three mouthfuls of rice, the servants then made to remove the dish, but he seized it, saying, "Leave it where it is! Your†⁵³⁶ daughter may have had all the rice she wants, (Hang Usuh,) but I want some more, this wedding has cost me a lot of money!" And all the women who heard what he said burst out laughing. Hang Husain Chengang went on eating until he had cleared the dish, whereupon the dish was removed and Hang Husain went into the house and betook himself to the bridal chamber.

Now Sultan Mahmud Shah wished to receive instruction in the sciences from Maulana Yusuf. [He (Maulana†⁵³⁷ Yusuf) had become a recluse†⁵³⁸. If people flew kites over the roof of his house, he would order them to be shot†⁵³⁹ down: and when he got one, he would order the cord of the kite to be wound in, saying, "How dare people fly kites over my house!" That was how he behaved. He had ceased to be Kadli, having been succeeded

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[157—158] in that office by his son, Kadli Menawar Shah.] In pursuance of this intention Sultan Mahmud Shah set out for the house of Maulana Yusuf: he was mounted on his elephant and escorted by his retainers. When they reached the fence round Maulana Yusuf's house, the retainers said to the gatekeeper, "Tell Maulana Yusuf that Sultan Mahmud Shah, the Ruler, is here." But when this message was brought to Maulana Yusuf, he said, "Shut the gate! What business has Sultan Mahmud Shah to come to a fakir's house?" When Sultan Mahmud Shah was told what Maulana Yusuf had said, he returned to the palace. But when night fell, he dismissed his retainers and when he was alone, he set out again for Maulana Yusuf's house, this time with no one but a boy for escort and himself carrying his book. On arriving at the gate the king said to the gate-keeper, "Tell Maulana Yusuf that Mahmud the fakir is come". And the gate-keeper opened the gate, thinking it was only right that one^{†540} fakir should come to another fakir's house. Forthwith Maulana Yusuf came out and brought Sultan Mahmud Shah into the house and bade him be seated. Sultan Mahmud Shah then had his lesson (? in the sciences)^{†540a} with Maulana Yusuf.

We come now to Raja Zainal-'Abidin, brother of Sultan Mahmud Shah, who was so handsome that he had no rival in those days. His looks were flawless and his every movement a miracle of beauty and grace^{†541}. If he wore^{†542} his sarong in the overlapping fashion, the overlap was so^{†543} adjusted as to display its perfection. He had a pony called Ambangan of which he was so fond that he cleared a bay of his house adjoining his own sleeping-chamber and there he stabled the pony. And he would rouse himself two or three times during the night (? to visit the pony)^{†544} When Raja Zainal-'Abidin was going out riding and had dressed, he would rub scent by the^{†544a} bowlful on the pony's coat before he went out for his ride. And such was the excitement which his passing caused in the market that married women and even young girls kept in seclusion would rush with one accord to get a sight of Sultan (sic) Zainal-'Abidin, some looking from their doorways, some looking **through** the lattices, some looking through the windows, some looking from the roof, some making peepholes in the house wall, some climbing on to the top of the fence. As for the passion of the women for Raja Zainal-'Abidin, it was past concealing: and as for the scores of boxes of ripe betel-leaf, some of the leaves rolled into pellets and others arranged separately in rows—they can well be imagined. The perfumes, the spikenard in caskets by the hundred—the musk for bathing, the nosegays of frangipanni, the trayfuls of jasmine, the posies—need they be described? Raja Zainal-'Abidin would take any woman that was to his liking, and those that were not he would give to the youths around him: and great was the debauchery in Malaka in those days.

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When Sultan Mahmud Shah came to hear how Raja Zainal-'Abidin was behaving, he was grievously displeased with his brother; but he nursed his anger in his heart and did not display it. Presently however he sent for the retainers he could best trust: and when they were come, he said to them, "Which of you can I count on to kill Raja Zainal-'Abidin so that no one shall know of it?" But none of them would undertake the task. There was however a gate-keeper, Hang Berkat by name, (who) in the presence of the Raja had declared his unwillingness^{†545} to undertake the task; but when he was sent for privately by Sultan Mahmud Shah he undertook to do it. And Sultan Mahmud Shah said^{†546} ("If you make good your word, I will own you as a brother")... and the Kelantan line^{†547} was broken (and the fort of Kelantan fell), and the men of Malaka entered the fort and sacked^{†548} it. The three daughters of the Raja of Kelantan were captured; one was called Otang Kentang, one Cherpa and the third Cherbok: all three were taken to Malaka by the Sri Maharaja. When he reached Malaka the Sri Maharaja presented himself before Sultan Mahmud Shah and offered the three princesses to him. The king was well pleased to hear of the defeat of Kelantan and bountifully rewarded the Sri Maharaja and all who had gone on the expedition. The three princesses were kept in the place, and Sultan Mahmud Shah took one of them, Otang Kentang, as consort. By her he had three children, the eldest a daughter, the second a son called Raja Nara and the youngest a daughter. Later Sultan Mahmud Shah took another consort, Tun Birah, daughter of the Laksamana, and by her he had a daughter called Raja Dewi.

God knoweth the truth

Chapter XVI

In Kampar Sultan Menawar (son of Sultan Ala'u'd-in of Malacca) dies and is succeeded by his son 'Abdullah. He comes to Malacca to visit Sultan Mahmud, who marries him to his daughter and makes him Sultan 'Abdullah of Kampar. Death of Bendahara Puteh. He is succeeded by Sri Maharaja Tun Mutahir, who becomes Bendahara Sri Maharaja and is described as the 'grandest of all the Bendaharas'. The prosperity of Malacca under his administration. The affair of Pateh Adam and Tun Menida.

(Shellabear, chapter XXVI)

Here now is a story of Kampar, where Menawar Shah, Raja of Kampar, had died, leaving a son named Raja 'Abdullah. Raja 'Abdullah came to Malaka to do homage and Sultan Mahmud Shah took him for his son-in-law, marrying him to his daughter, the sister of Raja Ahmad. He then ordered that Raja 'Abdullah should be proclaimed Raja of Kampar (with the title of Sultan 'Abdullah). Sultan 'Abdullah then returned to Kampar.

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In the course of time Bendahara Puteh departed this life, and Sultan Mahmud Shah carried out the funeral rites customary on the death of a Bendahara. After the funeral Sultan Mahmud Shah called together those who were eligible to be made Bendahara: first Tun Zainal-Abidin, second Tun Telanai, third the Paduka†⁵⁴⁹ Tuan, fourth the Sri Nara 'diraja, fifth the Sriwa Raja, sixth the Sri Maharaja, seventh Abu Sayid, eighth Tun 'Abdul and ninth Tun Bijaya Maha Mentri. And all nine of them stood in a row before the palace of Sultan Mahmud Shah. And he said to them, "Which of all you chiefs is to become Bendahara? Whichever of you is (?the most)†⁵⁵⁰ eligible (?) shall be made Bendahara)." And the Paduka Tuan answered, "Your Highness, all nine of those before you are eligible. Whichever is preferred by your Highness, he it is that shall be made Bendahara." And the mother†⁵⁵¹ of Sultan Mahmud Shah was listening behind the door and she said to him; "Let it be Tun Mutahir." And Sultan Mahmud Shah then said to them, "Pa' Mutahir shall be Bendahara": and they all agreed. Robes of honour, such as are customary for Bendaharas, were then brought: and (in addition) he was given a betel-chest†⁵⁵² (?) complete†⁵⁵³ with all accessories. It was the custom in ancient times, when a man was made Bendahara, or Treasurer or Temenggong or a minister of state, for him to be presented with a betel-chest complete with all accessories; save that in the case of the Treasurer or the Temenggong there was no pounder (?)†⁵⁵⁴, though the Bendahara's chest had a pounder and also an ink-flask. A Temenggong on appointment received a lance with a fringe (?)†⁵⁵⁵.

When the Sri Maharaja had become Bendahara, the city of Malaka steadily increased in prosperity and in population, for Bendahara Sri Maharaja was exceedingly just and humane, clever †⁵⁵⁶ in his handling of foreigners and skilled in conciliating †^{556a} the good will of the populace. So much so that in ships bound for Malaka from above the wind it was the custom, as the anchor was being weighed, for the master of the ship, after reciting the usual prayer, to say, "May we reach Malaka safely†^{556a} and see Pisang Jeram, the stream of Bukit China and Bendahara Sri Maharaja!" And the crew would answer, "Ay, ay, sir!"

Bendahara Sri Maharaja had many children. The eldest was a son called Tun Hasan. He was very handsome and well-built, and it was he who was made Temenggong in succession†⁵⁵³ to his father. It was the custom†⁵⁵⁷ for the Temenggong to arrange the guests at food in the inner hall. When engaged upon this duty Temenggong Tun Hasan wore his sarong in the overlap fashion (?): he wore a scarf over his shoulders and his headress was of the ?...type, with aigrettes and tassels. As he walked along the gangway arranging the guests at food he would

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[160—161] point this way and that with his fan after the manner of a fencing †⁵⁵⁹ master! It was Tun Hasan Temenggong who introduced the long †⁵⁶⁰ Malay jacket with loose sleeves. He had a son named Tun 'Ali.

One day when Bendahara Sri Maharaja was seated in his public hall with people before him, he asked those present, "Which is the better looking, Hasan or I?" But when they replied that he was better looking than his son, Bendahara Sri Maharaja said, "No, gentlemen, for I have to wear spectacles. Hasan is better looking than I am, for he is a young man; but I move more gracefully than he does." And they answered, "It may be as you say, Datok!" Bendahara Sri Maharaja was endowed by nature with good looks and he was moreover a great dandy. He would change his clothes seven times a day; he had a thousand jackets of one sort or another; his headcloths stood ready tied on blocks, twenty or thirty of them in constant use; and he had a full-length looking-glass. When Bendahara Sri Maharaja was dressing, after he had put on sarong, jacket, creese and scarf, he would ask †⁵⁶¹ his wife, "Which headcloth do you think would go best with this suit?" And the Bendahara Perempuan would say, "Such and such a headcloth would go best", and her advice would be taken by Bendahara Sri Maharaja.

The Bendahara had another son called Tun Bayajit Rupert, and another called Tun Lela Wangsa. His daughter, Tun Tanggal (?), was married to Tun Abu Sayit, son of the Awadana, and Tun Hasan was born of that marriage.

Bendahara Sri Maharaja was the grandest †⁵⁶² of all the Bendaharas. If he was seated in his public hall with people before him and a prince appeared, he would not leave †⁵⁶³ his seat but would merely hold out his hand and invite the prince to come up into the hall. It was only for an heir-apparent to the throne that he would leave his seat, though if the Raja of Pahang appeared, Bendahara Sri Maharaja would stand up and the Raja of Pahang would come up in to the hall and seat himself beside Bendahara Sri Maharaja. Now the Sri Nara 'diraja, Tun Tahir, elder brother of Bendahara Sri Maharaja, who was also Treasurer, had five children; three sons, Tun 'Ali, Tun Hamzah and Tun Mahmud, and two daughters, one of whom was called Tun Kudu. She was a handsome woman and was one of Sultan Mahmud Shah's consorts. He was very fond of her and ordered that she be called "Datok Tuan" at court though among all her kinsfolk she was known as "Datok Puteh."

Tun 'Abdul, the younger brother of Bendahara Sri Maharaja, had many children, a number of sons and a number of

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[161—162] daughters; one of the daughters was married to Tun Rana by whom she had a son, Tun Hidap Panjang, who became Datok Jawa; and one of the sons was Tun Minda who was adopted by the Sri Nara 'diraja.

Now the Chief of Surabaya, Pateh Adam by name, came to Malaka to do homage. He was given robes of honour by Sultan Mahmud Shah and in the hall of audience was assigned a place on a level with the ministers of state. One day Pateh Adam was sitting on the Sri Maharaja (? Sri Nara 'diraja)'s balcony and it happened that Tun Sinal†⁵⁶⁴ who was still a child and could just run a few steps, was toddling about in front of the Sri Nara 'diraja. And the Sri Nara 'diraja said to Pateh Adam, "Just listen to what my child says! She wants you for a husband, it seems!" And Pateh Adam bowed his head and did obeisance, saying, "So†⁵⁶⁵ be it." And when the season came for the return voyage to Java, Pateh Adam sought leave from Sultan Mahmud Shah to depart, and he was given by Sultan Mahmud Shah robes of honour appropriate to his rank. Pateh Adam then purchased a little girl of the same age and stature as Tun Sinal and he took her back with him to Sourabaya, where he had her brought up with due care. And when in the course of time the girl reached marriageable age, he had her married. Thereupon he made ready ships to go to Malaka, and he chose out four (? forty)†⁵⁶⁶ young men of good family (to accompany him): and when the ships were ready he set forth.

On his arrival at Malaka, Pateh Adam went to the Sri Nara 'diraja: and he said, "I am come to ask you to fulfil your promise to give me your daughter in marriage." And the Sri Nara 'diraja answered, "But I never made any such promise!" Then said Pateh Adam, "Is it not a fact that when your daughter was still toddling, you said, 'Pateh Adam, just listen to what my child says! She wants you for a husband'?" And the Sri Nara 'diraja answered, "Yes, I did say that, but I was only jesting with you, sir!" Then said Pateh Adam, "Is it in accordance with custom to jest with gentlement†?" He then went back to his lodging and made his plans for the rape†^{566a} of Tun Sinda, who was by now full grown and had her own separate house. Pateh Adam proceeded to bribe the Sri Nara 'diraja's gate-keeper, saying, "Let me and my forty men have access to the house of Tun Sinda." And the gate-keeper consented, for his loyalty to his master was not proof against bribery. Which shews how true is the saying of 'Ali (may God ennoble his countenance) "*La khaira 'l-wafa'i 'ala man la asla lahu*" which being interpreted is 'Put not your trust in men that have no breeding.'

One night accordingly Pateh Adam and his chosen forty men entered the gate and Pateh Adam made his way to Tun

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[162—163] Menida's house. A hubbub arose and word was brought to the Sri Nara 'diraja, who was highly enraged and summoned his retainers. Straightway they assembled, armed to the teeth, and surrounded the house of Tun Menida. There Pateh Adam was sitting by the side of Tun Menida, his thigh resting on hers; and undoing his waistcloth he fastened one end round Tun Menida's waist and the other round his own. He then drew his creese. By this time the house was surrounded by any number of men, and there seemed to be row upon row of weapons. Pateh Adam's men fought with them until all forty of them were slain; but when he was^{†567} informed *punapa karsa andeka dening peria'i punika kabeh sampun pejah* (what do you propose to do now, for all your followers have been killed?) he merely replied *dendamene kang sampun pejah insun putera dalem ikabela nanging paratu* (never mind if all of them are killed: this girl I have here is all I want).

And men forced their way into the house and were for killing Pateh Adam: but he said, "If I die, this girl dies too!" When the Sri Nara 'diraja was told how Pateh Adam was behaving, he said, "Kill him not lest he kill my daughter, for the whole of Java would not compensate me for my daughter's death!" So Pateh Adam was not killed but was married to Tun Menida, from whose side he never moved a finger's breadth the whole time he was in Malaka: wherever she went, he was with her. And when the season came for the return voyage to Java, Pateh Adam sought leave of the Sri Nara 'diraja to depart and take Tun Menida with him. To this the Sri Nara 'diraja agreed, and Pateh Adam then presented himself before Sultan Mahmud Shah to seek leave from him to depart. The king bestowed upon him robes of honour completed with accessories. Pateh Adam thereupon set sail for Java and arrived at Sourabaya in due course. By Tun Menida he had a son named Tun Husain and it is he who is Chief of Sourabaya at the present time.

Chapter XVII

The Raja of Kedah visits Malacca to obtain recognition as Ruler of Kedah. His tacit tribute to the greatness of Bendahara Sri Maharaja. The incident of Tun Perpateh Hitam being summoned before the Bendahara by a foreigner and the subsequent execution of himself and his son for disrespect to the Bendahara.

(Shellabear chapter XXXII)

Here now is a story of the Raja of Kedah, who in his turn^{†568} went to Malaka to do homage and ask for the drum^{†568a} of sovereignty. When he arrived at Malaka, Sultan Mahmud Shah accorded him a seat in the hall of audience on the same level as ministers of state, and bestowed rich presents upon him.

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One day Bendahara Sri Maharaja was seated in his own hall with people before him, and Temenggong Tun Hasan and the ministers of state were present. And food was served. Bendahara Sri Maharaja ate by himself and those present waited until he should have eaten, for it was the custom^{†569} that the Bendahara of Malaka should not eat with others, and they could not eat until he had finished eating: that was the custom. But that day, while Bendahara Sri Maharaja was still eating, the Raja of Kedah appeared and was forthwith invited to come in and take his seat. He accordingly came in and seated himself beside Temenggong Tun Hasan. When the Bendahara had finished eating and was taking sireh, Temenggong Tun Hasan and the ministers of state drew towards them the food that the Bendahara had left on the dishes. And Temenggong Tun Hasan invited the Raja of Kedah to partake of the food and the Raja of Kedah was about to do so when the Bendahara said to him, "You, sire, must not eat of the food that I have left!" But the Raja of Kedah replied, "No matter, for you are my senior, Bendahara, I regard you as my father." He then ate, with Temenggong Tun Hasan and the ministers of state, of the Bendahara's leavings. And when they had eaten, sireh was brought. And after the Raja of Kedah had been some while in Malaka, he sought leave of Sultan Mahmud Shah to depart for Kedah. And Sultan Mahmud Shah accorded to him the drum of sovereignty and at the same time presented him with a robes of honour as befitted his rank. The Raja of Kedah then returned to Kedah, where he had the drum of sovereignty beaten.

Now there was a minister of Sultan Mahmud Shah, Tun Perpatch Adam. He was a descendant of Tun Jana Buga Dendang and he had a son named Tun Husain, who was an extremely well-built man. And Tun Husain said, "If ever the conduct^{†570} of my father is called in question, I shall fight!" Now it happened by the will of God that Tun Perpatch Hitam had a dispute with a foreigner, and he was called upon to appear before the Bendahara with the foreigner. The Laksamana was present at the time, for it was the custom of the Bendaharas of Malaka that if the Bendahara was inquiring into disputes the Temenggong and the Laksamana should always be with him. If anyone shewed disrespect to the Bendahara, it was the Laksamana who put him to death; and in cases where it was proper to arrest anyone and put him in fetters, it was the Temenggong who made the arrest. Such was the custom in the days of Malaka. When Tun Perpatch Hitam had been summoned to appear before the Bendahara, Tun Husain came to join his father. And when Tun Perpatch Hitam beheld Tun Husain coming armed with his long creese, he thought to himself, "It looks as though Tun Husain's going to be as good as his word!": and he rose to his feet and kicked up the mat, saying, "A fine

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[164] sort of minister†⁵⁷¹ this is, to call my conduct in question like this!" Thereupon the Laksamana drew his sword, saying, "How dare you show disrespect, kicking up the mat in the presence of the Bendahara?" And he slashed at Tun Perpatih Hitam with his sword while at the same time others drew their weapons and stabbed at him. In vain did the Bendahara try to restrain them, they heeded him not and Tun Perpatih Hitam was killed. When Tun Husain saw this, he drew his creese to fight. But the Laksamana said, "You're going to be disloyal, are you, Tun Husain, that we may treat your†⁵⁷² as we've treated your father?" And Tun Husain was struck down there and then. The Laksamana went forthwith to Sultan Mahmud Shah and related to him all that had happened. And the king said, "If you had not killed them then, Laksamana, assuredly we would have killed them later, for we consider disrespect in the presence of the Bendahara to be as though it were done in our own presence, no less." And Sultan Mahmud Shah rewarded the Laksamana with robes of honour.

God knoweth the truth.

Chapter XVIII

The plight of the Indragiri people in Malacca. They ask their Raja to take them back to Indragiri. He himself escapes and returns to Indragiri, where his cousin Maharaja Isak is driven from the throne and flees to Lingga, where subsequently he becomes ruler. Sultan Mahmud sends Hang Nadim to India to buy special cloth fabrics for him. Hang Nadim draws patterns better than any of the Kalinga designers and returns with the desired fabrics, but his ship is wrecked as the result of a curse laid on the shipmaster by a Saiyid whom the shipmaster had insulted. Hang Nadim escapes with four cloths to Ceylon where he makes lanterns out of egg-shells for the Raja and eventually reaches Malacca, where he incurs the wrath of Sultan Mahmud. The death of Laksamana Hang Tuah.

(Shellbear, chapter XXVIII)

Here now is a story of Maharaja Merlang, who was Raja of Indragiri, thought it was at Malaka that he died. He had a son named Raja Nara Singa, born of his consort, the daughter of him †⁵⁷⁴ who found God's Mercy at Malaka: and it was Raja Nara Singa who then became the leader of the Indragiri men in Malaka †⁵⁷⁵. Now at that time the young nobles of Malaka were in the habit of summoning the young nobles of Indragiri and ordering them to carry them pick-a-back hither and thither: no sooner had one been so carried than another would ask to be. This was more than the men of Indragiri could stand, and they presented themselves before Raja Nara Singa, saying, "May it please your Highness, let us seek leave to return to Indragiri, for we have no desire to stay here in Malaka. The people here do not treat us†^{575a} properly, they turn us into their slaves!" Raja

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[164—165] Nara Singa agreed and presented himself before Sultan Mahmud Shah when he was giving an audience. After doing obeisance to Sultan Mahmud Shah he said, "Your Highness, by your gracious favour I would ask to be allowed to return to Indragiri, for although your Highness has of your bounty bestowed^{†576} Indragiri upon me, I have never yet seen the country." But Sultan Mahmud Shah would not let him go. Raja Nara Singa said nothing when he heard Sultan Mahmud Shah's decision.

But in the course of time he succeeded in escaping from Malaka and returned to Indragiri, where he found that Maharaja Tuban younger brother of Maharaja Merlang had died also, leaving a son called Maharaja Isak, and it was he who governed Indragiri. But when Maharaja Nara Singa arrived, Maharaja Isak was driven out by Tun Kechil and Tun Balia, chiefs of Indragiri, and fled ^{†577} to Lingga, where he married a daughter of the Raja of Lingga. When the (Maha) Raja of Lingga died, Maharaja Isak became Raja of Lingga. He had many children. And Raja Nara Singa became Raja of Indragiri.

Now Sultan Mahmud Shah was desirous of sending an envoy to Kalinga to buy cloth for him. He wanted forty varieties of cloth and four lengths of each variety, and each length had to have forty varieties of floral motif. As his envoy to Kalinga he appointed Hang Nadim. A Malaka man by descent, Hang Nadim was the son-in-law of the Laksamana and was distantly related^{†578} to Bendahara Sri Maharaja. He embarked in the ship of Hang Isak and set sail for Kalinga. When in due course he reached Kalinga, he presented himself before the Raja of Kalinga, to whom he submitted the wishes of Sultan Mahmud Shah. The Raja of Kalinga thereupon ordered that all who could design should be^{†579} assembled, and there came together all the designers of Kalinga, to the number of about five hundred. The Raja of Kalinga then ordered them to make designs as Hang Nadim wished, and the Kalinga designers set to work in front of Hang Nadim. And when they had finished their work, they shewed their designs to Hang Nadim, but he did not like them. So they drew different designs, but he did not like those either. And though the Kalinga craftsmen submitted design after design, Hang Nadim still was not satisfied. Then the designers said, "This is all that we can do. We can produce no other designs. But if Hang Nadim will give us specimens of what he wants, we will follow his designs." Hang Nadim asked for paper and ink and when these were supplied by the Kalinga men, he drew the floral motifs he wanted. When the Kalinga designers saw his work they were astounded and their hands shook as they beheld his draughtmanship. When Hang Nadim had completed his drawings, he shewed them to the designers, saying, "These are the motifs I^{†579a} want." But out of the hundreds of Kalinga

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[166—167] designers there were only two who could copy Hang Nadim's designs, and they copied whatever he drew. The other designers then said, "Here in front of Hang Nadim we cannot draw: we must return†⁵⁸⁰ to our homes and then we can draw." When Hang Nadim agreed, they went home to do their drawing; and when they had completed†⁵⁸¹ their designs, they delivered to Hang Nadim cloth such as was desired by Sultan Mahmud Shah. When presently the season for the return voyage to Malaka came round, Hang Nadim departed, travelling in Hang Isak's ship, in which he stowed the cloth he had bought.

Now Hang Isak had had as passenger in his ship a certain Saiyid: and according to the Saiyid's reckoning of his account with Hang Isak, there was some money due to him from Hang Isak. And he said to Hang Isak, "There is still some money of mine with you, Hang Isak. Please let me have it back." To which Hang Isak replied, "What money of yours have I still? What sort of a holy man are you to make false charge against people like this? Are you a holy man†⁵⁸² of the testicles, by any chance? (Like these !)." And the holy man said, "Now then, Hang Isak, I am one of God's servants and you expose yourself thus to me ! Woe be to you on this voyage!" Whereupon Hang Nadim said to the Saiyid "I ask your pardon, sir. Let not me, I pray be involved†⁵⁸³ in this affair". And the Saiyid patted Hang Nadim on the back, saying, "To you†⁵⁸⁴ and yours, Nadim, no harm shall come." The Sharif then went home, and Hang Isak set sail. And when they were well out to sea, suddenly the ship foundered and Hang Isak and all his crew were drowned, though there was neither rain nor storm. But Hang Nadim and several of those with him escaped in a boat together with (? some of)†⁵⁸⁵ the cloth and came safely to Selan. When the Raja of Selan heard of his arrival, he sent for Hang Nadim and ordered him to make him an eggshell lantern. And Hang Nadim fashioned the eggshell with rare delicacy and lit a candle in it, so that the effect was very striking. And when the lantern was finished, he presented it to the Raja of Selan, who bounteously rewarded him and would fain have kept him in Selan but Hang Nadim contrived to escape on board a ship bound for Malaka. When he reached Malaka, he presented himself straightway before Sultan Mahmud Shah, taking with him the four pieces of cloth he had saved†⁵⁸⁶ (?). These he presented to Sultan Mahmud Shah, at the same time relating all that had happened. And Sultan Mahmud Shah said, "Once you had known that Hang Isak had had a curse laid upon him by the Sharif, why did you still travel in his ship?" And Hang Nadim answered, "I went in Hang Isak's ship because there was no other ship sailing. Had I waited for another ship, I should have been late in returning to Malaka." And Sultan Mahmud Shah was grievously displeased with Hang Nadim.

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Now Laksamana Hang Tuah had died and his son-in-law Khoja Husain, was made Laksamana in his place by Sultan Mahmud Shah. Laksamana Hang Tuah had two wives. One of them, who was related to the Sri Bija 'diraja (or Datok Bongkok†⁵⁸⁷ as he was called) had three children; the eldest, a daughter, was married to Khoja Husain; the second was a son named Tun†⁵⁸⁸ Bayajit, and the youngest, a daughter called Tun Sirah, became one of Sultan Mahmud Shah's consorts and was the mother of Raja Dewi. The other wife of the Laksamana was of the family of Bendahara Paduka Raja and was related to the Paduka Tuan. She had two children; one, a son who was given the title of (Sang)†⁵⁸⁹ Guna, and the other a daughter who was married to Hang Nadim. It was Khoja Husain who succeeded his father-in-law as Laksamana. Laksamana Khoja Husain had a son named Tun 'Abdullah.

God knoweth the truth.

Chapter XIX

The Sriwa Raja is sent to Pahang to install Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jamal as ruler in succession to his father, Sultan Muhammad Shah. His adventures in Pahang. He sees Tun Teja, the Bendahara of Pahang's daughter, and brings back to Malacca so glowing an account of her that Sultan Mahmud is determined to marry her despite the fact that she is already betrothed to the new Sultan of Pahang. He offers to reward with even 'half his kingdom' whoever will abduct her. This is a chance for Hang Nadim to redeem his failure in Kalinga (chapter XVIII) and he proceeds to Pahang, bribes all and sundry and successfully abducts Tun Teja. Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jamal is so angry that he meditates an attack on Malacca in which he will demolish the audience hall with his elephant Beman Chengkobat! Sultan Mahmud thereupon offers immunity for all time to whoever will capture Beman Chengkobat for him and Laksamana Khoja Husain volunteers for the task which, by methods similar to those employed by Hang Nadim in the abduction of Tun Teja, he successfully accomplishes.

(Shellabear, chapter XXIX)

Here now is a story of Pahang, where Sultan Mahmud†⁵⁹⁰, the old Raja, had died and had been succeeded on the throne by his son, Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jamal. The Bendahara of Pahang at that time, Sri Amar Bangsa as was his title, had a daughter called Tun Teja Ratna Benggala, whose beauty was such that †^{590a} throughout Pahang at that time she had no peer and in everything that she did there was a charm that none could rival. Hence came the verse

Tun Teja†⁵⁹¹ Ratna Benggala,
How well she split the peppercorn!
If you don't believe my word,
I'll swear it on the Kora'an!

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[167—168] Now Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jamal desired Tun Teja for his consort, and the Bendahara of Pahang was agreeable and was merely waiting until the next season†^{591a} to celebrate the wedding.

And Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jamal commanded the Sri Wangsa 'diraja to go to Malaka and take (to Sultan Mahmud Shah) the grave-cloth of his father and report his father's death. The letter he was to take was borne in procession to the ship and the Sri Wangsa 'diraja set forth for Malaka, where he arrived in due course. And Sultan Mahmud Shah came out to the hall and gave an audience, and he ordered the letter from Pahang to be brought from the ship with due ceremony. It was borne to the hall and was then read, and it ran as follows:—"My humble obeisance to your Highness: this is to inform you that your uncle†⁵⁹² has returned to the Mercy of God." When Sultan Mahmud Shah thus heard of the death of Sultan Mahmud Shah, Raja of Pahang, for seven days the royal band†^{592a} was not allowed to play. He then commanded the Sriwa Raja to go to Pahang and install Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jamal as Raja. The letter to Pahang was borne in procession, the Sri Wangsa 'diraja was given†⁵⁹³ robes of honour by the king and the Sriwa Raja then set forth for Pahang accompanied by the Sri Wangsa 'diraja. And when they reached Pahang, Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jamal was well pleased and forthwith ordered the letter to be brought ceremonially from the ship in accordance with ancient custom. On arrival at the hall of audience it was read, and it ran as follows:—"Greetings and good wishes from the younger brother to the elder brother. What has come to pass is in accordance with God's decree and how should we change it? Therefore the younger brother has bidden his servant, the Sriwa Raja, go to Pahang to install the elder brother as Raja." And Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jamal was well pleased with the wording of the letter (from his cousin)†⁵⁹⁴.

He then inaugurated the installation festivities that lasted for seven days and seven nights, and he was duly installed by the Sriwa Raja by the beat of the drum†^{594a} of sovereignty. The Sriwa Raja then sought leave to depart; but Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jamal said, "Tarry awhile and let us noose elephants, for at this season elephants will be coming down from the hills and noosing elephants is rare sport!" But the Sriwa Raja replied, "If it please your Highness, I would ask to be allowed to depart notwithstanding, for if I do not put to sea now, the contrary wind will assuredly set in and I shall be delayed here, which will bring upon me the displeasure of your Highness' younger brother. Nevertheless I should greatly like to see some elephant-noosing. Would it perchance be possible to release these tame elephants here in the city and then have them noosed?" And Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jamal answered that that could be done, and he sent for

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[168—169] the most experienced elephant-men in Pahang. When they came and were told what the Sriwa Raja wanted, they said, "If we can noose wild elephants, we can certainly†⁵⁹⁵ noose tame ones!" And the Sriwa Raja said, "Just noose one for me, I want to see how it's done!" Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jamal then ordered that a tame elephant should be let loose. Other elephants were made to surround it and scores of skilled elephant-men held their nooses as though they were noosing wild elephants and pitched them at the feet of the tame elephant: but instead of catching the elephant that had been let loose they caught other elephants and even caught each other by the neck and feet! And the elephant men were astounded and said to Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jamal, "The fact is, your Highness, we cannot noose that elephant in the presence of the Sriwa Raja, for he knows†⁵⁹⁶ too much about elephants!" And Sultant 'Abdu'l-Jamal was covered with confusion when he saw what had happened, and he withdrew into the palace: whereupon all those present departed, each one to his house.

On the following day Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jamal had his elephant Merkepal well smeared with oil, and he would not allow the pack-saddle to be put on. Merkepal had hind-quarters that sloped very steeply, so much so that only two keepers could sit on him at a time, a third was sure to fall off. Even two could only sit on his back if the pack-saddle were on. Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jamal then mounted Merkepal and made his way to the house of the Sriwa Raja, who when he learnt of the Sultan's coming forthwith . . . the house and stood outside. Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jamal then asked him, "Where is your son, sir†^{596a}. I should like†⁵⁹⁷ to take him with me on the elephant." And the Sriwa Raja answered, "He is here, your Highness"; but he thought to himself "He wants to kill my son, with an elephant whose back falls away as steeply as this, unsaddled and oiled into the bargain!" So he shouted to his son, "Omar, come here! The Raja wants to take you with him on his elephant." When Tun 'Omar came, the Sriwa Raja whispered†⁵⁹⁸ something in his ear. Then he said out loud, "Go with the Sultan on his elephant!" Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jamal thereupon made the elephant kneel and Tun 'Omar quickly mounted the croup. The elephant then rose to his feet and set off towards Ayer Hitam. And Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jamal took him up and down slopes that were steep and precipitous†⁵⁹⁹ in order that, as he hoped, Tun 'Omar would fall off. But Tun 'Omar, when he felt that he was going to slide off, climbed back†⁶⁰⁰ on to the elephant's middle, laying a charm on the beast. In vain then did the Raja of Pahang urge the elephant forward, he would not move! So strongly did the king urge him forward that his forefeet pawed the air in the effort to advance while his hindlegs stood stock still! As soon as Tun 'Omar felt sure of his seat he would let the elephant go and it

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[169—170] would then move forward. This happened two or three times. And Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jamal was astounded, and finally turned round and went back to his palace.

The Sriwa Raja then sought leave to return to Malaka, and Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jamal had a letter written in reply to that which he had received from Malaka, and he gave the Sriwa Raja robes of honour. The letter was borne in procession to the Sriwa Raja's ship, and he then sailed for Malaka. On his arrival there the letter was borne in procession to the palace, and Sultan Mahmud Shah was well pleased to hear how the letter was worded and also to hear of all that the Sriwa Raja had done in Pahang. He complimented him and gave him robes of honour as befitting his rank. And the Sriwa Raja told Sultan Mahmud Shah of Tun Teja, the Bendahara of Pahang's daughter, whose beauty was such that none could rival her at that time: but he added that she was betrothed to the Raja of Pahang and that the wedding would soon take place. And when Sultan Mahmud Shah heard the Sriwa Raja's description, he conceived a great desire for the Bendahara of Pahang's daughter, and he said, "Whosoever brings hither to me the daughter of the Bendahara of Pahang, to him will I give anything that he desires, even to the half of my city and my regalia!" When he said that, it happened that Hang Nadim was below and heard it, and he thought to himself, "I must go to Pahang and see if I can get Tun Teja and bring^{†601} her to the Ruler." Thus resolved he took passage in a ship bound for Pahang. When he reached Pahang he made great friends with a Cham there, called Saidi Ahmad. And Hang Nadim said to Nakhoda Saidi Ahmad, "Is it true that Tun Teja, the Bendahara of Pahang's daughter, is a great beauty? I should dearly like to set eyes on her." And Nakhoda Saidi Ahmad answered, "Yes, it is true: but she is betrothed to the Ruler of Pahang. What chance is there of your seeing her? She's the daughter of a chief. Why, even the sun and moon can't get a sight of her, let alone people like you and me!" But Hang Nadim thought over the matter, and he said, "How can we (?I) ^{†602} contrive to get her?"

It happened at that moment that an old woman who gave massage passed by, and Hang Nadim called^{†603} her to come in and had himself massaged by her. And he asked her of whose household she was and she answered that she was one of the Bendahara's slaves. Hang Nadim then asked her "Do you go into the house of the Bendahara?" And she replied that she did so constantly as^{†604} the Bendahara's daughter Tun Teja employed her to give her massage. Then said Hang Nadim, "Is it true, as I hear, that Tun Teja is a great beauty?" To which the old woman replied, "The fact is there's no one in Pahang to compare

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[170—171] with her. She has been betrothed to the Raja of Pahang and is to be married this coming season." And Hang Nadim said to the masseuse, "Can I trust you with a secret?" And she answered, "Yes, God willing, for many is the time I have been given messages to take." Then Hang Nadim gave her much gold and fine clothing: and when she cast her eyes on this profusion of precious things, she was conquered by the love of the goods of this world and pledged herself to keep Hang Nadim's secret. Then said Hang Nadim, "If it can be contrived, you must^{†605} find some way of bringing Tun Teja to me so that I can offer her to the Raja of Malaka." And he gave her some civet (?) ^{†605a} and bade her rub it on the skin of Tun Teja. This the masseuse said she would do, and she went forthwith into the Bendahara's close, crying, "Who wants massage? I will do it!" And Tun Teja bade her attendants call the masseuse as she wished for massage. So the masseuse went into the house to massage Tun Teja.

And when she saw that they were by themselves, she said to Tun Teja, "It seems^{†606} a pity to me that a girl of your beauty should be marrying this Raja of ours! If a great Raja became your husband, lady, how much better that would be!" But Tun Teja replied, "Why, who is a greater Raja than this Raja of Pahang of ours?" Whereupon the masseuse said, "It is^{†606a} the Raja of Malaka who is the great Raja, and he is a fine-looking man as well!" Tun Teja said nothing: and the masseuse rubbed the body of Tun Teja with the civet Hang Nadim had given her, at the same time saying coaxingly to her "At this very moment there is here a servant of the Raja of Malaka. He is called Hang Nadim and he is come here to take you at the bidding of his master, who cannot send to ask for your hand in the usual way, he fears that the Raja of Pahang would not consent. That is why he has bidden Hang Nadim take you away secretly. If you are willing, lady, he will take you to Malaka. You will then without a doubt become the consort of the Raja of Malaka, and as he has no consort at present, it is you, lady, who will become Queen. But if you marry the Raja of Pahang, you will have to play second fiddle to the Queen of Pahang, whereas if you marry the Raja of Malaka, the Queen of Pahang will have to do obeisance to you!" And Tun Teja was won over by what the old woman said: as says the poet *La ta'manunna 'ajuzatan dakhlatu'l-khabail, hal ta'manunna asada m'a 'l-ghanam*, which being interpreted is "Trust not an old woman that enters thy house: is a tiger to be trusted with a herd of goats?"

When the old woman saw^{†607} that Tun Teja was won over, she went and informed Hang Nadim. He was overjoyed and going to Nakhoda Saidi Ahmad he said, "Are we real friends, you and I?" And Nakhoda Saidi Ahmad answered, "Of course

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[171—172] we are! Why, I would risk my life to help you!" Hang Nadim then told him how he had made a pact with Tun Teja. And he said "If you are really my friend, go abroad your ship and wait for me at the mouth of the Pahang river, where I will join you at break of day. We will then go to Malaka, where I promise you the Ruler will raise you to honour." Nakhoda Saidi Ahmad agreed and forthwith called in his crew, bidding them hasten, for^{†608} the ship was about to sail now that the season was at hand. (?) Now Nakhoda Saidi Ahmad^{†609} was a man clean out of the ordinary, his strength was prodigious. He then boarded his ship and went down the Pahang river until he had crossed the bar and there he lay to.

And when it was night, Hang Nadim called the masseuse and bade her bribe the Bendahara of Pahang's gate-keepers. And she went and bribed them (?) and they agreed^{†610} to help (?) Hang Nadim. Then when day was about to break, at the time when all men are sound asleep, the masseuse brought Tun Teja to the man who was guarding the gate, and he opened the gate. Hang Nadim was waiting outside and the masseuse delivered Tun Teja to him. Hang Nadim wrapped^{†611} his hands in cloth, received Tun Teja and bore her to a hired boat which was waiting at the landing-stage. Hang Nadim took her aboard the boat and then paddled off down stream. Now there were two successive booms across the Pahang river at that time. Hang Nadim filled the sleeves of his jacket with sand and he strewed the sand on the water, so that it sounded like a net being cast: and he asked the boom-keeper to open the boom. And the boom-keeper, hearing what sounded like a man casting a net, opened the boom. The same thing happened when they came to the next boom. Having passed both booms Hang Nadim paddled with all speed until he reached Saidi Ahmad's ship and put Tun Teja aboard. And the wind freshening, Nakhoda Saidi Ahmad ordered anchor to be weighed and then sailed for Malaka.

And when it was day, Tun Teja's attendants came to the Bendahara and said, "Your daughter^{†612} has disappeared: she is nowhere to be seen and none of us^{†612a} know where she is gone!" The Bendahara was dumbfounded, and though a thorough search was made, Tun Teja was not to be found. And loud was the wailing in the Bendahara's house. When Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jamal came to hear what had happened, he was astounded and filled with grief, and he gave orders for diligent inquiry to be made every-where.

Presently there came a man who was from the mouth of the Pahang river to say that at dawn that day he had met Hang Nadim with a very beautiful woman whom he took on board the

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[172—173] ship of Saidi Ahmad and sailed off with to Malaka. When the Raja of Pahang heard what the man said, he was very angry and ordered ships to be made ready. A fleet of forty sail was accordingly made ready without a moment's delay and Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jamal himself set out in pursuit of Hang Nadim. And all the Pahang war-chiefs hastened forth, each in his own ship: and when they reached Pulau Kēban they came up with the ship of Saidi Ahmad. And the men of Pahang attacked the ship and there was a general mêlée in the course of which the Pahang war-chiefs tried to put a grappling iron on Saidi Ahmad's ship. But Hang Nadim shot with his arrows those who tried to do the grappling and killed them, and their ship withdrew from the fray. It was soon succeeded by another, which however suffered the same fate: and when two or three ships had fared likewise, not one of the Pahang war-chiefs would make another attempt to approach. When Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jamal saw what was happening, he ordered his own ship to be brought in to the attack. When it approached, Hang Nadim forthwith shot an arrow^{†613} and split the top of the Raja of Pahang's umbrella. And Hang Nadim cried, "Now then, you Pahang men, mark well how I can shoot! If I was going to take on the lot of you, I'd shoot the eyeballs out of you, man by man!" And the Pahang men were filled with awe by Hang Nadim's prowess with the bow, for he was the best shot of his day; he could even split a tree with his arrow!

And a strong wind sprang up and Saidi Ahmad put right out to sea, but the Pahang ships could not follow him, they were too small for the big sea that was running. The Pahang men accordingly went back, hugging the shore, while Saidi Ahmad sailed for Malaka.

When in due course the ship arrived in Malaka, word was brought to Sultan Mahmud Shah that Hang Nadim was come from Pahang in Nakhoda Saidi Ahmad's ship, bringing with him Tun Teja, daughter of the Bendahara of Pahang: and Sultan Mahmud Shah was well pleased to hear this news. That night Hang Nadim went to present himself before Sultan Mahmud Shah and offer Tun Teja to him. And the king was so greatly amazed^{†614} (by her beauty) that he exclaimed 'May God be exalted above what they say!' And he highly commended Hang Nadim to whom he gave robes of honour complete with all accessories, together with a vast amount of gold and silver. He also had Hang Nadim wedded with a daughter of the Paduka Tuan. Nakhoda Saidi Ahmad was given the title of Tun Stia 'diraja: he was presented with a sword and it was ordered that he should stand on the step below the throne together with the heralds. And Sultan Mahmud Shah married Tun Teja and was deeply enamoured of her, and by her he had a daughter, Princess Arma (?) Dewi.

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According to one tradition Sultan Mahmud Shah asked Tun Teja how she had fared in the company of Hang Nadim: and she answered, "Not only did he keep a respectful distance from me, he never even fixed his eyes upon me; and when he helped me aboard the ship, he wrapped his hands in cloth." This greatly pleased Sultan Mahmud Shah and he became in consequence even more bountiful to Hang Nadim. Now when the ship of Saidi Ahmad had sailed from Pahang, the Raja of Pahang returned in anger to his capital. And mounting his elephant, Beman Chengkobot he said to the Bendahara and the Pahang war-chiefs, "Make ready ships, gentlemen, for we are going to attack Malaka! And you shall see whether I do not charge the Raja of Malaka's hall with Beman Chengkobot!" So saying he drove the elephant at his own hall and brought it crashing to the ground. "Thus will I charge the Malaka hall with this elephant of mine!", said the king. And the war-chiefs bowed their heads in fear at this display of the wrath of Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jamal: and he then retired into the palace. When it was known in Malaka how the Raja of Pahang was disposed, Sultan Mahmud Shah said to his war-chiefs, "Which of you will get me this elephant of the Raja of Pahang with which he proposes to charge this hall? Undertake this task, one of you, and however great be that man's offence against me, never will I take his life!" Then said Laksamana Khoja Husain, "May it please your Highness to send me to Pahang and, God willing, I will get the Raja of Pahang's elephant and present it to your Highness." Sultan Mahmud Shah agreed and bade Bendahara Sri Maharaja compose a letter to send to Pahang. When the letter was ready it was borne in procession (to the ship) and the Laksamana set forth for Pahang.

When in due course the Laksamana arrived in Pahang, word was brought to Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jamal, "the Laksamana has come, sent to your Highness by your Highness's younger brother." Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jamal then came forth to the hall of audience and ordered that the letter be duly fetched from the ship and borne in procession with appropriate ceremony. When it reached the hall of audience, it was read: and so pleasingly was it worded that the king was delighted. The Laksamana then did obeisance and took his seat, above the Sri Akar Raja of Pahang. And the Laksamana said to Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jamal, "Your Highness, a report has reached your Highness's younger brother that your Highness is grievously offended with him. That is why I have been sent hither to present myself before your Highness and convey the message he sends to you. 'Why should we quarrel, brother with brother? Are not Malaka and Pahang but one country?' " And when Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jamal heard the words of the Laksamana, he replied, "Who brought

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[174—175] such a story to Malaka? What lies he was telling! What think you, Laksamana, is it reasonable that Pahang should fight Malaka?" Then ensued a brief conversation, after which Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jamal withdrew into the palace and all those present in audience went†^{614a} home. Now the Laksamana had moored his ship close to the place where the Raja of Pahang's elephant was bathed: and when the men in charge of the elephants brought their elephants down to bathe, the Laksamana sent for them and gave them food and gold, so that they were all well disposed towards Laksamana Khoja Husain, especially the man in charge of Beman Chengkobot whose favour the Laksamana took particular pains†⁶¹⁵ to win. And the Laksamana cleared half his ship as a stable for the elephant and put it in order, for he had come to Pahang with but four ships. After he had been there some days, the Laksamana sought leave from the Raja of Pahang to depart for Malaka. Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jamal then had a letter prepared in reply to that which he had received from Malaka, and he gave the Laksamana robes of honour. The letter was borne in procession to the Laksamana's ship; and when it had reached the ship, those who escorted it returned. The Laksamana tarried awhile, waiting until the elephants should be brought down to the river to bathe. When the time for the bathing of the elephants arrived, all the elephants including Beman were brought down to bathe by their keepers. The Laksamana then sent for Beman and put him aboard his ship, for the man in charge of Beman had a great liking for the Laksamana and would do anything he wanted. Once the elephant was embarked the Laksamana moved off downstream. And there was great excitement among the people of Pahang, the tale going round that the Laksamana was carrying off the elephant Beman by force.

When Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jamal heard the story, he was furious and cried, "The Raja of Malaka has treated us†⁶¹⁶ as people treat a monkey, putting banana into its mouth with one hand and sticking thorns into its rump with the other!" And he bade his war-chiefs make ready ships to pursue the Laksamana, and (? they set out with) a fleet of thirty sail under the command of Tun Aria. When they reached Sedili they came up with the Laksamana, and Tun Aria attacked, supported by the Pahang war-chiefs. But the Laksamana shot down with his arrows any who came within range and the men of Pahang were afraid to approach the Laksamana's ship. When Tun Aria saw this, he himself dashed in, but the Laksamana shot an arrow, hit†⁶¹⁷ the top of the mast of Tun Aria's ship and split it in two. He then sped another arrow and this time shot away the top of Tun Aria's umbrella. Tun Aria was standing opposite the †⁶¹⁸ mainmast, holding his buckler and taking no notice of the

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[175—176] Laksamana's arrows though they split everything like thunderbolts, so that those who carried†⁶¹⁹ bucklers had their bucklers shot away, those who carried long shields were transfixed through their long shields: and men were killed beyond number. Tun Aria however continued†^{619a} to attack the Laksamana's ship until the Laksamana shot an arrow which pierced his shield and wounded him in the breast. When it was seen that Tun Aria had been wounded, the Pahang fleet turned and fled in complete disorder. The Laksamana then proceeded on his way hugging the coast and finally sailed for Malaka, which he reached in due course. When Sultan Mahmud Shah heard that the Laksamana had arrived and that he had brought the Raja of Pahang's elephant, he sent a party to welcome him. And when the Laksamana presently appeared before Sultan Mahmud Shah, the king bestowed upon him such presents as are given to princes. The elephant was landed from the ship and brought to the palace: and Sultan Mahmud was overjoyed to see the elephant and handed him over to the Sri Rama, for he was Master of the King's Elephants.

Meanwhile the Pahang force which had pursued the Laksamana returned to Pahang, and the war-chiefs presented themselves before Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jamal to whom they related all that had happened. His fury was as that of a snake†^{619b} as it rises above its coils. Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jamal then made his son Sultan Mansur Raja of Pahang in his place and abdicating from the throne, he took up his abode at Lubok Peletang, moving upstream until he could no longer hear the royal drum, and when he had reached that point, there he abode. He then gave himself up wholly to religion, wherefore after his death he was known as He who found the Mercy of God in Piety. When Sultan Mansur came to the throne, Raja Ahmad, the late Raja's father (? uncle), (? acted as regent) with Raja Muzaffar as chief minister.

God knoweth the truth.

Chapter XX

Chau Sri Bangsa, a Siamese prince, conquers Kota Mahligai (Petani), having vowed that he would turn Muhammadan if victorious. He fulfils his vow. The origin of the name Petani. Chau Sri Bangsa obtains recognition from Malacca and is installed as Sultan Ahmad Shah of Petani. The coming of Maulana Sadar Jahan to Malacca. Sultan Mahmud becomes his pupil. The Maulana's rather Pecksniffian rebuke of the Sri Rama in his cups provokes a surprisingly good retort from the Sri Rama, and the Maulana has no success either in a verbal contest with Tun Mai Ulat Bulu. The mission to Pasai to pose a problem of theology. The message of Pasai is not put in writing but learnt by heart by the envoy for a special reason. Pasai gives an apparently satisfactory answer to the problem, though (as in the case in Chapter X) we are not told what it was.

(Shellaber, chapter XXXII)

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Here now is a story of a certain country called Kota Mahligai, of which Raja Sulaiman Shah was Raja. When news reached Siam that Kota Mahligai was a fine country, a Siamese prince, called Chau Sri Bangsa, organized an expedition and attacked Kota Mahligai. Raja Sulaiman set out to expel the invader and a battle ensued between the two princes. And Chau Sri Bangsa said, "If I defeat Raja Sulaiman I will embrace Islam." And by the will of God Kota Mahligai fell, Raja Sulaiman was killed by Chau Sri Bangsa and Chau Sri Bangsa became the ruler of the people of Kota Mahligai. And he embraced Islam. He then gave orders to seek for land that would be a good site for a city.

And people reported to Chau Sri Bangsa that there was a fisherman^{†620} named Pa' Tani dwelling on the coast and that where he dwelt there was a good site, as far as they could judge. Chau Sri Bangsa accordingly proceeded to where Pa' Tani lived and saw for himself that the site was in fact as good as it had been made out to be. So he built a city there to which he gave the name of Patani after the fisherman, and it is by that name that the place is known (to this day)^{†621}. And Chau Sri Bangsa sent (? Kum Pal) to Malaka to do homage and crave from Sultan Mahmud Shah the drum of sovereignty. Akun Pal accordingly set out and in the course of some days reached Malaka. When Sultan Mahmud Shah was informed that an envoy was come from Patani, he gave orders for the letter from Patani to be fetched with ceremony from the ship and brought in procession with such honours as were accorded to letters from Pahang. On arrival at the hall of audience the letter was read and it was worded as follows:— "The son sends his obeisance to his father" and after various compliments it went on, "the son has ordered Akun Pal to do homage to the father and the son craves from his royal father the drum of sovereignty." Sultan Mahmud Shah was well pleased, and Akun Pal was given robes of honour befitting his rank and accorded a seat in the hall of audience on the same level as the heralds. Sultan Mahmud Shah then ordered Kadli Menawar Shah to compose an instrument for Chau Sri Bangsa conferring upon him the title of Sultan Ahmad Shah. He then granted a drum of sovereignty and this, with complimentary presents to accompany the letter to Patani, was delivered to Akun Pal who was given robes of honour. The letter and the instrument were borne in procession to the ship of Akun Pal, who thereupon departed for Patani. On his arrival at Patani he gave orders^{†621a} for the rulership of Chau Sri Bangsa to be duly established and Chau Sri Bangsa was then installed as ruler by beat of the drum of sovereignty, with the title of Sri Sultan Ahmad Shah. The king begat a son named Chau Kam (?) and Chau Kam (?) begat a son who became Raja in Siam (?).

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[177—178] Now there came to Malaka a ship from the regions above the wind, and in this ship there was a pundit named Maulana Sadar Jahan. He was a great scholar and Sultan Mahmud Shah became his pupil and ordered his son, Raja Ahmad, to go to him for instruction. Maulana Sadar Jahan was known as “the Makhdum” and all the Malaka chiefs went to him for instruction. And it happened one night that while Bendahara Sri Maharaja was conversing with Makhdum Sadar Jahan on points of doctrine, the Sri Rama appeared, very much the worse for liquor, for he was a great drinker. [When the Sri Rama presented himself before Sultan Mahmud Shah, the king would order his servants to ‘bring the Sri Rama’s†⁶²² food’, and they would bring it on silver trays and present it to the Sri Rama, wearing the shoulder-cloth]. When the Sri Rama reached the Bendahara’s house and perceived that the Bendahara was conversing with the Makhdum, he said, “Let me join the class!” And Bendahara Sri Maharaja bade him be seated. But when Makhdum Sadar Jahan perceived that the Sri Rama was drunk and whiffed the smell of alcohol in the Sri Rama’s breath, he said “*Al-khamru ummu’l-kaba’ith*” which means “alcohol is the mother of evils.” To which the Sri Rama retorted “*Al-hamku ummu’l-khaba’ith*”, which means ‘Worldliness is the mother of evils’. Why was it, sir, that you came here from above the wind? Was it not to acquire riches? That was the result of worldliness!” At that the Makhdum was deeply offended and arose to go, and despite all the efforts of Bendahara Sri Maharaja to induce him to stay he refused to do so and went home. And Bendahara Sri Maharaja said to the Sri Rama, “What means this drunkenness? It is a good thing the Ruler did not hear what you said to the Makhdum! If he comes to know of it, you will be in bad odour!” And the Sri Rama replied, “I am in the Ruler’s hands. What is to be done? What’s said is said and can’t be recalled.” Food was then brought and set before the Sri Rama, and he and all the others present partook of it. After they had eaten they sat†⁶²³ for a while and the Sri Rama then took his leave of Bendahara Sri Maharaja and returned to his house.

On the following day the Bendahara went by himself to the Makhdum’s house, and Makhdum Sadar Jahan was delighted to see him. He was at the moment teaching Tun Mai Ulat Bulu [Tun Mai Ulat Bulu’s real name was Tun Muhyi’ud-din and he was the son of Tun Zainu’l-‘Abidin and grandson of Bendahara Paduka Raja, but because he was hairy he was known as Tun Mai Ulat Bulu] In the course of the lesson it was found that Tun Mai Ulat Bulu was quite incapable†^{623a} of pronouncing what he was taught because the tongue of Malays always has been ‘hard’. And Makhdum Sadar Jahan was cross with him and said, “What is one to do with a tongue like Tun Mai Ulat Bulu’s, so ‘hard’ that when

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[178—179] we say one thing he says another?" And Tun Mai Ulat Bulu answered "I find it difficult to pronounce your language because it is not my own language. If you tried to pronounce my language, you would be in the same plight!" And Makhdum Sadar Jahan said, "Why, what is there difficult in this Malay language of yours that I cannot pronounce it?" Then said Tun Mai Ulat Bulu, "Please say *kunyit*, sir." The Makhdum pronounced the word as *kun-nyit*. "No, sir, that was wrong," said Tun Mai Ulat Bulu, "now try *nyiru*." But the Makhdum pronounced the word as *niru*. Then Tun Mai Ulat Bulu said *kuching*, which the Makhdum pronounced as *kusing*. And Tun Mai Ulat Bulu said, "How can you claim to be able to pronounce our language, sir, any more than I can yours?" And Makhdum Sadar Jahan was furious and said, "Never again will I attempt to teach this Tun Mai Ulat Bulu!"

It happened once that Sultan Mahmud Shah wished to send an envoy to Pasai to ask for the answer to a question in dispute between the divines of the Country†⁶²⁴ beyond the River, the divines of Khurassan and the divines of Irak. And the king consulted with the Bendahara and the chiefs. "How are we going to send our message to Pasai?" he asked. "If we send it in writing, we shall certainly come off badly, for the men of Pasai have no scruples about altering the text of a letter. Even if the letter says 'greetings', they still make it say 'obeisance'†⁶²⁵." Then said Bendahara Sri Maharaja, "In that case all we have to do is this; we send an envoy but without a letter and we order the envoy to commit the message to memory." And Sultan Mahmud Shah replied, "Yes, that will do, but Tun Muhammad must be the envoy." Tun Muhammad having signified his compliance, the letter was borne in procession to the ship; and as presents to accompany the letter the king sent a cleaver of Pahang make with gold inlay, a white cockatoo and a purple cockatoo. Tun Muhammad then set forth and on the voyage he committed the contents of the letter to memory.

When Tun Muhammad reached Pasai, the Raja of Pasai was informed that an envoy was come from Malaka. The Raja of Pasai gave orders to his chiefs to fetch the letter with ceremony from the ship and bring it†⁶²⁶ with drum, pipe, clarionet and kettledrums. And when they came to Tun Muhammad, the chiefs sent to welcome the letter said to him, "Where is the letter? Let us take it in procession." But Tun Muhammad answered, "I am the letter! Take me in procession!" He was accordingly mounted on an elephant and taken in procession to the hall of audience. When the procession arrived at the hall, Tun Muhammad dismounted from the elephant and standing at the place where letters were read he proceeded to recite the letter, as follows:—

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[179—180] "Greetings and prayers to God from the elder brother to his younger brother Sri Sultan†⁶²⁷ the Exalted, the Honoured King, Shadow of God in the World. The elder brother's reason for sending his chiefs, Tun Muhammad and Tun Bija Wangsa, to present themselves before his younger brother is that the elder brother wishes to know the explanation of this difficulty—first *man kala, Inna'llaha ta'ala khalikun' warazkun fi'l-azali fakad kafara*, that is to say 'whoever declares God to be the creator and preserver to eternity is verily an infidel'; and second *man kala Inna'llaha ta'ala lam yakun khalikan warazikan fi'l-azali fakad kafara*, that is to say 'whoever declares that God is not the creator and preserver to eternity is verily an infidel.' It is desired that the younger brother should give the explanation." The Raja of Pasai assembled all the divines of Pasai and bade them give the required explanation but not one of them could do so. The Raja of Pasai then bade Tun Muhammad approach and when he was close to him the Raja of Pasai told him the (? explanation of the) difficulty, saying "This†⁶²⁸ is the explanation that our brother in Malaka desires." This answer satisfied Tun Muhammad and he said, "It is as your Highness has said." Tun Muhammad then sought leave to return to Malaka and the Raja of Pasai had a letter written in reply to that from the Raja of Malaka: this letter was borne in procession to Tun Muhammad's ship.

Tun Muhammad then set out for Malaka, where he arrived in due course. The letter from Pasai was borne in procession according to ancient custom to the hall of audience where it was read, and Tun Muhammad related to the king what the Raja of Pasai had said and all that had happened at Pasai. Sultan Mahmud Shah was well pleased with Tun Muhammad's account, and the answer the Sultan of Pasai had given met with his approval. And Tun Muhammad and Tun Bija Wangsa were presented by him with robes of honour with accessories such as are worn by princess and they received other rich rewards.

Chapter XXI

Legur invades Pahang, on instructions from Siam, and Sultan Mahmud sends a force to help Pahang, under the leadership of Bendahara Sri Maharaja accompanied by the Laksamana. Legur is defeated. The prosperity of Malacca. The visit of a Portuguese ship from Goa and the Malays' first meeting with Europeans whom they described as 'white Bengalis'! The first attack of the Portuguese on Malacca. It is repelled.

Here now is a story of the Raja of Legur, whose name was Maharaja Dewa Sura. (Having been so commanded†⁶²⁹ by the Raja of Siam) he was making preparations to attack Pahang. When news of this reached Pahang, Sultan Mansur Shah, the Raja of Pahang, gave orders that the fort should be put in order

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[180—181] for defence and that forces be assembled: all were to go into the fort and to put their weapons in order. When presently word reached Malaka that the Raja of Legur was going to attack Pahang on the orders of the Raja of Siam, Sultan Mahmud Shah sent for Bendahara Sri Maharaja, the Sri Bija 'diraja and the chiefs to consider what should be done about the attack on Pahang by the Raja of Legur. And the Sri Nara 'diraja said, "May it please your Highness, if†⁶³⁰ we do not send men to assist Pahang (? , it will be unfortunate), for if anything should befall Pahang, will not that be to your Highness's detriment†⁶³¹ ?" And Sultan Mahmud Shah replied, "In that case the Bendahara had better go to Pahang accompanied by the war-chiefs." "Very well, your Highness", said Bendahara Sri Maharaja, and he thereupon had ships†⁶³² made ready. When the fleet was ready, the Bendahara was presented with robes of honour befitting his rank and he then set forth for Pahang, accompanied by the Sri Amar Bangsa, the Sri Utama, the Sri Petam (?), the Sri Nata, Sang Stia, Sang Naya, Sang Guna and Sang Jaya Pikrama; and with them went all the war-chiefs.

And the ships, small and large, were past counting in number; for at that time the Raja's subjects in the city alone numbered ninety†⁶³³ thousand, to say nothing of those that dwelt in the outlying territory. The Laksamana†⁶³⁴ was still at Sungai Raya, which was by custom the fief of the Laksamana; but when he had made ready his ships (the fleet of Sungai Raya at that time was forty three-masted cruisers), he moved upstream towards Malaka. When he reached Batu Pahat, he came up with Bendahara Sri Maharaja and he went straightway to him. And Bendahara Sri Maharaja said to him. "Let us go to Pahang." But the Laksamana replied, "I have not yet received†⁶³⁵ the royal command." "Even so", said the Bendahara, "I have received it." Then said the Laksamana, "I have not yet done homage." And Bendahara Sri Maharaja answered, "I have. Come let us go." and at the same time he took the Laksamana's hand. There was nothing further the Laksamana could say and he set forth with the Bendahara. When they reached Pahang they found that one side†⁶³⁶ of the fort remained unfinished. Bendahara Sri Maharaja and the war-chiefs went into the palace to present themselves before the Raja, who was well pleased to see them and said, "There is one side of the fort still to be completed, sir,†⁶³⁷ and I shall be glad if the men of Malaka will finish it." "It shall be done", answered Bendahara Sri Maharaja, and forthwith he gave orders for the men of Malaka to work on the fortifications under the supervision of the Laksamana. The Laksamana thereupon set the men of Malaka to work, and of himself at that time it could be said that his hands were busy, his feet were busy, his eyes were busy and his tongue was busy. With his tongue he had continually to be issuing orders; with

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[181—182] his eyes he had to see what work was good and what work was bad; with his feet he had to go hither and thither, and with his hands he had rattans to trim. And by the goodness of God the fortifications were completed in three days.

Presently the Raja of Legur arrived in Pahang with his army, in numbers beyond counting, and they fought with the men of Pahang. But by the grace of God Pahang was victorious and the forces of Legur were heavily punished by the men of Pahang and many were killed. And the Raja of Legur fled headlong to Ulu Pahang and made his way through to Patani and thence back to Legur. And Sultan Mansur Shah rewarded Bendahara Sri Maharaja and the Malaka war-chiefs, and presented them with robes of honour befitting their rank. Thereupon Bendahara Sri Maharaja sought leave of Sultan Mansur Shah to depart, and the king had a letter written for submission to Malaka. Bendahara Sri Maharaja then set out on his return journey and on his arrival in due course at Malaka presented himself before Sultan Mahmud Shah, who was well pleased to hear of the victory of Pahang.

Now the city of Malaka at that time flourished exceedingly and many foreigners resorted thither; so much so that from Ayer Leleh to Hulu Muar there was an unbroken line of habitations, and it was thus too from Kampong Kling to Kuala Penajeh. People journeying even as far as Jenggra had no need to take firing^{†638} with them, for wherever they stopped on the way there would be a dwelling-house. Such was the greatness of Malaka at that time; in the city alone there were a hundred and ninety thousand people, to say nothing of the inhabitants of the outlying territories and coastal districts.

After a while there came a ship of the Franks from Goa trading to Malaka: and the Franks perceived how prosperous and well populated the port was. The people of Malaka for their part came crowding to see what the Franks looked like; and they were all astonished and said, "These are white Bengalis!" Around each Frank there would be a crowd of Malays, some of them twisting his beard, some of them fingering his head, some taking off his hat, some grasping his hand. And the commander of the ship landed and presented himself before Bendahara Sri Maharaja, who adopted him as his son and gave him robes of honour, as befitted his rank, while the commander^{†639} for his part presented Bendahara Sri Maharaja with a gold chain.

And when the season came round (for the return journey) the commander went back to Goa, where he described to the Viceroy the greatness of the city of Malaka, the prosperity of the

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[182—183] port and the number of the inhabitants. The Viceroy at that time was one Alfonso d'Albuquerque. When he realised (? the greatness of) Malaka, the Viceroy was seized with desire†⁶⁴⁰ to possess it, and he ordered a fleet to be made ready consisting of seven carracks, ten long galleys and thirteen foysts. When the fleet was ready, he ordered it to attack Malaka. On arrival at Malaka the ships forthwith opened fire with their cannon. And the people of Malaka were bewildered and filled with fear at the sound of the cannon, and they said, "What sound is this like thunder?" And when presently the cannon balls began to arrive and struck the people of Malaka, so that some had their heads shot away, some their arms and some their legs, the people of Malaka were more and more astonished to see what manner of thing this artillery was, and they said, "What may be this round weapon that yet is sharp enough to kill us?" The next day the Franks landed two thousand men armed with matchlocks apart from a vast horde of sailors and sepoys: and the men of Malaka under the leadership of Tun Hasan Temenggong went out to repel them. And when they encountered the Franks, battle was engaged, (the flashes of fire†⁶⁴¹ from the cannon being like flashes of lightning in the heaven?) and the weapons falling like heavy rain. Then Tun Hasan Temenggong and the men of Malaka charged; and the line of the Franks was broken and they gave ground. Then the men of Malaka charged again, and this time the Franks were routed and fled to the waterside, pursued by the men of Malaka. They then embarked and sailed for Goa. And when they reached Goa, they related to the Viceroy all that had happened. The Viceroy was very angry and was for ordering a fresh fleet to be made ready†^{641a} there and then for another attack on Malaka. But the commander†^{641a} of the Moors dissuaded him, saying, "As long as Bendahara Sri Maharaja is alive, Malaka will never fall." To which the Viceroy replied, "That being†⁶⁴² so, wait till I am no longer Viceroy and I will go myself and attack Malaka!"

God alone knoweth the truth.

Chapter XXII

The beauty of Tun Fatimah, daughter of Bendahara Sri Maharaja, who did not 'shew' her to Sultan Mahmud and thereby incurred the royal displeasure. The wealth of the Bendahara. The lawsuit between Naina Sura Diwana and Raja Mendaliar which was to be heard by the Bendahara. One of the parties bribes the Bendahara, whereupon the other bribes the Laksamana to tell Sultan Mahmud Shah that the Bendahara is meditating a *coup d'etat*. This is Sultan Mahmud's chance to work off the grudge he bears the Bendahara over Tun Fatimah and he orders the execution of the Bendahara, who is accordingly put to death along with his brother, the Sri Nara 'diraja. When later Sultan Mahmud learns that the Laksamana's story was false, he is stricken with remorse and visits condign punishment

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on the Laksamana and the man who bribed him. The old Paduka Tuan is then made Bendahara, much to his astonishment. His habits. Sultan Mahmud marries Tun Fatimah, but she mourns the death of her father and 'never laughed or even smiled.' So unhappy is Sultan Mahmud that he abdicates in favour of his son, Sultan Ahmad, and retires into seclusion with none to keep him company but his henchman Sang Sura.

(Shellabear, chapter XXXI and XXXII).

Here now is a story of Bendahara Sri Maharaja's daughter, Tun Fatimah, whose beauty was such that she had no peer at that time. When she had reached marriageable age she had become more†⁶⁴³ beautiful than ever, none could compare with her at that time. Moreover being the Bendahara's daughter she could wear what royal privilege denied to others. Bendahara Sri Maharaja proposed to marry her to Tun 'Ali, son of the Sri Nara 'diraja. And when the sireh†⁶⁴⁴ was sent, Bendahara Sri Maharaja invited to his house the Raja di-Baroh, who was the uncle of Sultan Mahmud Shah and the eldest brother of Sultan Ala'u'd-din, and he shewed Tun Fatimah to him. When the Raja di-Baroh saw Tun Fatimah, he was dumbfounded by her beauty and said to Bendahara Sri Maharaja, "The Ruler—has he seen this daughter of yours?" When Bendahara Sri Maharaja replied that the Ruler had not yet set eyes on her, the Raja di-Baroh said, "If you will not be offended, Bendahara, there is something I would like to say to you." And Bendahara Sri Maharaja replied, "Say on, your Highness." Then said the Raja di-Baroh, "This daughter of yours, Bendahara, is exceptionally beautiful, and to me it seems wrong that she should wed a man who is not of the blood royal. If you will take my advice, you will not give her in marriage yet awhile, for the Raja Perempuan, the Raja's consort from Pahang, is now dead and according to royal Malay custom, when there is no Raja Perempuan, it is the daughter of the Bendahara who becomes Raja Perempuan." But Bendahara Sri Maharaja answered, "No, your Highness, I am a man of present†⁶⁴⁵ stock and peasant should go with peasant." "Very well, Bendahara", said the Raja di-Baroh, "do as you please: I was only telling you what I thought." After that Bendahara Sri Maharaja proceeded to inaugurate the festivities for the marriage of his daughter.

When the propitious time arrived for celebrating the wedding, Sultan Mahmud Shah was invited by Bendahara Sri Maharaja to be present at the ceremony, and he went to the Bendahara's house. As soon as Sultan Mahmud Shah arrived, the marriage of Tun 'Ali and Tun Fatimah took place. Sultan Mahmud Shah then went into the inner room of the house to be present at the ceremony of†^{645a} rice-taking, and when he saw Tun Fatimah he was astounded by her beauty and conceived a great desire for

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[183—184] her. And he thought to himself, "What a knave this old Mutahir is! He has a daughter as lovely as this and he has never shewn her to me!" There and then Sultan Mahmud bore malice in his heart against Bendahara Sri Maharaja. When the wedding was over he retired to the palace: but still he would not, Tun Fatimah was never out of his thoughts; and day after day he sought to revenge himself on the Bendahara. After Tun 'Ali had been married to Tun Fatimah for a while she bore him a daughter called Tun†⁶⁴⁶ Trang, quite a pretty girl.

Here now is the story of a certain man of Kalinga living in Malaka at that time, who had been made Master of the Port, with the title of Raja Mendaliar, and was easily the richest†⁶⁴⁷ man of his time in Malaka. It happened one day that he was present before Bendahara Sri Maharaja and the Bendahara said to him, "Now then, Raja Mendaliar, let us have the truth from you! How much are you worth?" And Raja Mendaliar answered, "I am not worth all that amount, your Highness, I have but five *bahara* of gold." To which Bendahara Sri Maharaja replied, "Then I am worth only one more *bahara* than you, Raja Mendaliar." Bendahara Sri Maharaja was in fact always engaging in business and never once did he come to grief in any of his enterprises. If he was in a good†⁶⁴⁸ humour (?) he would call the children of the household and say to them, "Would you boys like†⁶⁴⁹ to see some gold?" And when they said they would Bendahara Sri Maharaja would say, "Go and fetch that chest yonder†⁶⁵⁰." Then they would go and fetch the chest, carrying it between them, and lay it before Bendahara Sri Maharaja, who would order the contents to be poured out on to the mat and measured out with a gallon measure. Then he would say to the children, "Take a handful each to play with!" They would grasp a handful each and take it to the house which Bendahara Sri Maharaja was building. Then they would put the gold on the crossbeams or wall-planking which the carpenters were shaping†^{650a} to go into position; after which they would leave the house. But when the men who were working on the house came to work, they would see the gold and take it. Later, when†^{650b} the children remembered their gold, they would go back into the house to get the gold they had just put there so that they might play with it. Then they would see that the gold had disappeared and they would burst into tears. When Bendahara Sri Maharaja heard them crying, he would ask what they were crying about. And when he was told they had lost the gold he had just given them, he would say, "Don't cry! Tell me the truth†⁶⁵¹ and you shall have some more gold to take its place!" And he would give them another handful each.

When the Bendahara's young folk went hunting wild buffalo or deer, if they had no sport they would stop on their

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[184—185] way at the Bendahara's byre, spear two or three buffaloes, order their throats to be cut, take the topside meat and have it sent to the Bendahara. And when he asked what meat it was, the men who brought it would say, "Buffalo, your Highness. Your sons and grandsons went out hunting just now but getting nothing they stopped on their way at your Highness's byre at Kayu Ara and took a buffalo (? each)^{†652}". Then the Bendahara would say, "The naughty young brats. That's what they always do, if they go hunting buffalo and get none, they hunt my buffaloes in the byre!"

If a slave of the Bendahara's came (to visit him) from the country, all dressed up for the occasion in scarlet jacket and rainbow headcloth, he would invite him into his house thinking he was a foreigner. And when he had come in, the Bendahara would ask him, "And who are you, sir?" Then the man would say, "I am your slave, son of so and so, grandson of so and so!" Then the Bendahara would say, "Oh, you're^{†653} the son of so and so are you? Go down and sit under the house." Such was the grandeur^{†654} of Bendahara Sri Maharaja. And he would think to himself, "So great is my wealth that even when it goes to my descendants they will not exhaust it!"

It happened once on a festival day that the Bendahara and the chiefs had gone to the palace and were seated in the hall of audience waiting for the Raja to appear. And Raja Mendaliar, who had come to present^{†655} himself before the Raja, did obeisance to the Bendahara. But the Bendahara flung aside his hands, saying, "That's just what one would expect from a Kling who doesn't know how to behave! The idea of paying your respects to me here in the king's hall! Couldn't^{†656} you come to my house to do that?" And Raja Mendaliar said not a word and withdrew.

Subsequently a certain Naina Sura Dewana, the leading merchant in the city, had a claim against Raja Mendaliar and the two of them went and laid the matter^{†657} before the Bendahara. But when they appeared it was already near afternoon and the Bendahara said, "Go home now, gentlemen, for it is afternoon, and come back here to-morrow." Raja Mendaliar and Naina Dewana accordingly did obeisance to the Bendahara and sought his leave to depart, and they then went home. But Naina Sura Dewana thought to himself "This Raja Mendaliar is a rich man. If he gives the Bendahara a present, I shall certainly lose my case. That being so, I had better go and see the Bendahara to-night!" Having thus decided, when night fell Naina Sura Dewana took a *bahara* of gold and went with it to the house of Bendahara Sri Maharaja. When he came to the Bendahara's fence he asked the gate-keeper to tell the Bendahara that Naina Sura Dewana would like to see him. The gate-keeper forthwith

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[185—186] informed Bendahara Sri Maharaja, who came out into his public hall. Naina Sura Dewana then went in and presented himself before Bendahara Sri Maharaja, and besought him to accept the *bahara* of gold, saying, "Your Highness, I crave your acceptance of this gold for whatever use you may have for it." And Bendahara Sri Maharaja answered, "Very well, as it is your gift to me, sir, I take it." Naina Sura Dewana then sought the Bendahara's leave to depart and betook himself to his house.

Now there was a certain man of Kalinga named Kittul, who was related to Naina Sura Dewana, and he owed a catty (?)†⁶⁵⁸ of gold to Raja Mendaliar. When Naina Sura Dewana returned from the house of Bendahara Sri Maharaja, at midnight, Kittul went to the house of Raja Mendaliar and knocked†⁶⁵⁹ loudly on the door. Raja Mendaliar was startled and called out, "who's that at the door?" And Kittul answered, "It is I, Kittul." Raja Mendaliar then ordered the door to be opened and Kittul came in. When he saw Raja Mendaliar happily in the company of his family†⁶⁶⁰, Kittul said, "You do well to be enjoying yourself this night, Raja Mendaliar, not knowing the misfortune that is coming upon you!" Raja Mendaliar then took Kittul by the hand and led him away to a place where they could be alone. Then he said, "Now then, Kittul, what is†⁶⁶¹ this that you've heard?" And Kittul replied, "This very night Naina Sura Dewana went to the Bendahara and gave him a *bahara* of gold to have†⁶⁶² you put to death. The Bendahara is now in collusion with Naina Sura Dewana and he will make an end†^{662a} of you!" When Raja Mendaliar heard what Kittul told him he took Kittul's bond and tore it in shreds, saying "Your debt to me of a catty of gold is remitted in this world and the next, and I regard you as my brother†^{662b}." Kittul then went home. That same night Raja Mendaliar took a *bahara* of gold, fine jewels and rich ornaments and went with them to the house of Laksamana Khoja Husain, because Laksamana Khoja Husain and his kinsmen were in high favour with Sultan Mahmud Shah. And when he came to the Laksamana's fence he asked for the gate to be opened and the Laksamana ordered that it should be opened. Raja Mendaliar then went in and presenting himself before the Laksamana sought his acceptance of all that he had brought, saying, "I am come into your presence, sir, because I have a duty to perform. It is necessary that you inform His Highness the Ruler, so that I may not be accused of complicity with him that is set over me, that it has come to my knowledge that Bendahara Sri Maharaja intends treason and has had a royal†⁶⁶³ throne made for himself, his purpose being to make himself Raja here in Malaka." When the Laksamana set eyes on all the rich treasure that was being offered to him, his discretion forsook him, prey†⁶⁶⁴ to the good things of this world: and he said to Raja Mendaliar, "Yes, I will inform

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[186—187] His Highness the Ruler.” He then went into the palace and presented himself before Sultan Mahmud Shah, to whom he related what Raja Mendaliar had told him.

Sultan Mahmud Shah lent^{†665} a ready ear to the Laksamana’s story because he had long harboured malice against Bendahara Sri Maharaja over his daughter: and he accordingly ordered Tun Sura ‘diraja and Tun Indra Segara to put Bendahara Sri Maharaja to death. The two men went therefore (to the Bendahara’s house) accompanied by the Raja’s slaves. (When they arrived) Bendahara Sri Maharaja’s people and kinsmen gathered round him, all of them fully armed: and Tun Hasan Temenggong, the Bendahara’s son, was for fighting. But the Bendahara said, “What, Hasan, would you be disloyal to your Raja and spoil the good name^{†666} of your forebears? It is the custom of Malays that they shall never be disloyal to their Raja.” When he heard Bendahara Sri Maharaja’s words, Tun Hasan Temenggong threw away his weapon and stood with his arms folded. And the Bendahara said to his kinsmen and retainers, “If any of you resists, I will denounce him in the world to come!” When they heard the words of (Bendahara) Sri Maharaja, all of them threw away their weapons and returned each to his house, leaving Bendahara Sri Maharaja with his brother, the Sri Nara ‘diraja, and his people. Then Tun Sura ‘diraja and Tun Indra Segara came in bearing a creese from Sultan Mahmud Shah which had been placed on a salver and covered with a shoulder-cloth. They then took the creese out from under its covering (? and laid it) before the Bendahara, saying, “His Highness’s^{†667} greetings and prayers to God, verily the Will of Almighty God cometh to pass on this day.” And Bendahara Sri Maharaja and the Sri Nara ‘diraja answered, “Whatever cometh to pass in accordance with God’s decree, I accept.” Then were put to death Bendahara Sri Maharaja, the Sri Nara ‘diraja and all of their people who accepted to die with them. At that moment Sang Sura^{†668} came running from the palace with a royal command for Sang (? Tun) Sura, “the Ruler commands that the family be not utterly wiped out but that some be left to carry on the line.” Then said Tun Sura ‘diraja and Tun (Indra) Segara, “What is to be done? We shall incur the Ruler’s displeasure, we have killed all but^{†669} the children (?)!” And Tun Indra Segara said, “This child, Enche’ Hamzah here, let us tend him, we may^{†669a} still be able to save his life.” The Tun Hamzah of whom he spoke was the son of the Sri Nara ‘diraja and he had been gashed^{†669b} from the nape of his neck to the nipples. Tun Sura ‘diraja forthwith took Tun Hamzah to Sultan Mahmud Shah who ordered that he be treated by a doctor. By the will of Almighty God the child did not die, and he was to become in time^{†670} a great favourite of Sultan Mahmud Shah’s. After the death of Bendahara Sri Maharaja

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[187—188] all the property that he left†⁶⁷¹ was taken to the palace, and Sultan Mahmud Shah then realised that the story about the Bendahara was false. He was prostrated with grief and repented bitterly that he had put Bendahara Sri Maharaja to death without due inquiry. And he ordered that Raja Mendaliar be put to death for having made a false accusation, that Kittul be impaled horizontally and the Laksamana castrated. The Paduka Tuan, son of Bendahara Paduka Raja, was made Bendahara by Sultan Mahmud Shah. The Paduka Tuan was already an old man and†⁶⁷² paralysed (?) as well, and he had lost all his teeth. When he was told that he was being made Bendahara, he tumbled himself down from where he sat, saying, "A fine sort of Bendahara this will be, crippled and paralysed!" (And he begged to be excused from accepting the appointment, but) Sultan Mahmud Shah insisted†⁶⁷³ that he should become Bendahara. It was he who was known afterwards as Bendahara Lubok Tanah (? Batu) 'the man of many children,' for he had thirty-two children, all of them by the same mother, and his grandchildren and great-grandchildren numbered seventy-four.

His eldest son was called Tun Bayazid. Tun Bayazid was slightly deranged. If he went to the market he would take anything he saw. When Bendahara Lubok Batu came to hear of this, he gave orders that if Tun Bayazid went out for a walk, he should be followed by one of the Bendahara's servants bearing money. This servant took note of any stall that Tun Bayazid stopped at and when Tun Bayazid had gone on, the servant would go to the stall and ask, "What did the gentleman take just now?" And when the stall-owner replied that he had taken so and so, the servant who followed Tun Bayazid would ask what was the price of the goods: and when the stall-owner said it was such and such a price, the servant would pay accordingly.

There was an elephant which the Bendahara had given to him. This elephant Tun Bayazid had sold fourteen or fifteen times. When Bendahara Lubok Batu heard that the elephant had been sold by Tun Bayazid, he would buy it back again and give it to another†⁶⁷⁴ of his sons. When Tun Bayazid saw his brother riding the elephant, he would make him dismount, saying, "This is my elephant, father gave it to me!" Then he would take the elephant, but after he had had it for two or three months, he would sell it again. When the Bendahara came to know, he would buy it back again. This happened time after time. Thrice was Tun Bayazid bound by his father for slapping the face of one of the Raja's slaves. The Bendahara at last told the Sriwa Raja to bind Tun Bayazid and take him to the palace: and he said, "Do you, Sriwa Raja, ask the Ruler to put him to death, for what use is a gallows-bird like this? I would kill†^{674a} his myself but the

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[188—189] Ruler might be displeased' ". The Sriwa Raja accordingly took Tun Bayazid to the palace and related to Sultan Mahmud Shah what the Bendahara had said. And Sultan Mahmud Shah remarked, "What odd†⁶⁷⁵ things the Bendahara does! Merely on account of a slave he binds his own son! Let him go!" So Tun Bayazid was released and was given robes of honour by Sultan Mahmud Shah and told to return to the Bendahara. And when the Sriwa Raja told the Bendahara what the Raja had said, the Bendahara observed, "That's just like the Ruler! Bayazid has only to be bound for the Ruler to order his release and give him robes of honour! That'll make Bayazid more of a gallows-bird than ever!" When the Bendahara's back was turned, Tun Bayazid said to the young men around him, "When my father binds me, he shews a nice sense of colour! When I was wearing a dark red jacket, he bound me with a cloth that had a green ground; when I was wearing a white jacket, he bound me with a cloth that had a red ground; and when I was wearing a purple jacket, he bound me with a cloth that had a yellow ground!" And all the young men laughed at this sally of Tun Bayazid's.

Another son of Bendahara Lubok Batu was called Khoja†⁶⁷⁶ Ahmad; it was he who was given the title of Tun Pikrama (Wira) and he was the father of Tun†⁶⁷⁷ Isak Berakah.

Another son of Bendahara Lubok Batu was called Tun Pauh: he was the father of Tun Jamal; Tun Jamal had many children. The eldest was called Tun Utusan: then came Tun Bakau, Tun Menawar and Tun Sulaiman, who was made Sri Guna 'diraja: then came a daughter called Tun Sēni, who was married to Tun Tiram, son of Sang Stia: then another daughter who was married to Tun Bayazid Itam and had a son, Tun Mat 'Ali. Tun Bakau had four (?) children; Tun Bayazid Ibrahim, Tun Bentan and Tun Abu, who was made Sri Bijaya Pikrama. Tun Menawar had four children; Tun Buang, Tun Husain, who was made Paduka Sri Raja Muda; Tun Hasan, who was made Sri Pikrama Raja; and a daughter who married Tun Bentan. The Sri Guna 'diraja too had many children; Tun Mat, Tun Boh, Tun Pēkoh, 'zid Boh and (? Tun) 'zid.....

Another child of Bendahara Lubok Batu, a daughter, was married to Tun Perpateh Kasim, by whom she had a daughter, Tun Putri. Tun Putri married Tun Iman 'diraja, by whom she had a son Tun Tahir. It was Tun Tahir who was made Sri Pikrama Raja of Batu Sawar.

Now the daughter of Bendahara Sri Maharaja named Tun Fatimah, who was so beautiful, was taken by Sultan Mahmud Shah to be his consort, and he was deeply enamoured of her.

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[189—190] But Tun Fatimah sadly mourned her father and throughout her married life with Sultan Mahmud Shah never once did she laugh or even smile. As was her sadness, so†⁶⁷⁸ was the king's; and he bitterly repented what he had done. And he abdicated from the throne in favour of his son Sultan Ahmad, to whom he made over his officers and the regalia. And Sultan Mahmud Shah (went and) took up his abode at Kayu Ara, with no one but Sang Sura†⁶⁷⁹ to keep him company.

According to the account we have received, whenever Sultan Mahmud Shah went for a ride to Tanjong Kling or elsewhere, it was Sang Sura alone that escorted him, carrying three things: first the betel-set, second a package and third a water bottle. If Sultan Ahmad heard that his father was going out riding, he would order the chiefs to escort him. But no sooner did Sultan Mahmud Shah see people coming to escort him than he would set spurs to his horse and gallop away, refusing to be escorted by the chiefs. And Sang Sura would run at top speed keeping up with the king's horse; and as he ran he would place his footprints over the hoofmarks of the horse so as to obliterate them and prevent their being seen; and at the same time in the palm of his hand he made betel quids for his royal master. Thus lived Sultan Mahmud Shah in retirement.

When Sultan Ahmad became Raja he had no great liking for the chiefs. His favourites were Tun 'Ali Hati, Tun Mai Ulat Bulu and Tun Muhammad Rahang together with the young men about the court, thirteen of them, and the king's slaves. They were his companions in sport and pastime. This Tun Mai Ulat Bulu was the son of (Tun) Zainu'l-'Abidin, who was the son of Bendahara Paduka Raja, who lived at Lubok China and was known as Datok Lubok China. Tun Zainu'l-'Abidin had five children; three sons, of whom the eldest was Tun Salehu'd-din, the second Tun Jalalu'd-din and the youngest Tun Mahaiyi'd-din: the daughter was married to Bendahara Sri Maharaja. Tun Salehu'd-din begat Tun Tahiru'd-din and Tun Tahiru'd-din begat Orang Kaya Sogoh and the father of Tun Sulaiman. Tun Jalalu'd-din begat Tun Mai; who was known as Tun Mai Ulat Bulu. It was he who was a great favourite of Sultan Mahmud †^{679a} Shah's, and he was made Temenggong with the title of Sri Awadana.

Sultan Mahmud Shah was deeply attached to Tun Fatimah and he ordered that she should be called Raja Perempuan. But if she became pregnant by Sultan Mahmud Shah, she caused abortion. When this had happened two or three times Sultan Mahmud Shah asked her, "Why is it that when you are with child you cause abortion? Is it that you dislike bearing a child to me?" And Tun Fatimah answered, "Why should you want children of me any longer when you already have a son on the

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[190—191] throne?" And Sultan Mahmud Shah said, "Even so, if you conceive by me, let the child be born: if it be a son, it is he†⁶⁸⁰ that we will make Raja." In the course of time Tun Fatimah again became pregnant, but she did not cause abortion and when the time came, she bore a daughter of great beauty. As soon as the daughter was born, Sultan Mahmud Shah took her in his arms and kissed her, and he gave her the name of Raja Puteh. She was his favourite child, his affection, for her was indescribable. Sultan Mahmud Shah had another daughter by Tun Fatimah: she was called Raja Khatijah. During this time Sultan Mahmud Shah (? Ahmad†⁶⁸¹) constantly pursued his studies with Makhdum Sadar Jahan.

Chapter XXIII

d'Albuquerque attacks Malacca. The bravery of Sultan Ahmad in the face of an attack which is not to the liking of his tutor, Makhdum Sadar Jahan. The incident of the *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiah* and the *Hikayat Hamzah*. Sultan Ahmad is wounded and the Malacca defenders are stirred to fresh efforts but Malacca falls and Sultan Ahmad flees to Pahang and finally to Bentan, accompanied by his father. His conduct offends Sultan Mahmud who has him murdered and resumes the throne. Sultan Mahmud sets up a new administration at Bentan and appoints as his successor his son by Tun Fatimah, thereby displacing Raja Muzaffar Shah.

(Shellabear, chapter XXXIV)

Here now is a story of Fongso d'Albuquerque. At the end of his term of office as viceroy he proceeded to Portugal and presenting himself before the Raja of Portugal asked for an armada†⁶⁸². The Raja of Portugal gave him four carracks and five long galleys. He then returned from Portugal and fitted†⁶⁸³ out a fleet at Goa, consisting of three carracks, eight galeasses, four long galleys and fifteen foysts. There were thus forty (sic) craft in all. With this fleet he sailed for Malaka. And when he reached Malaka, there was great excitement and word was brought to Sultan Ahmad, "The Franks are come to attack us! They have seven carracks, eight galeasses, ten long galleys, fifteen sloops and five foysts." Thereupon Sultan Ahmad had all his forces assembled and he ordered them to make ready their equipment. And the Franks engaged the men of Malaka in battle, and they fired their cannon from their ships so that the cannon balls came like rain. And the noise of the cannon was as the noise of thunder in the heavens and the flashes of fire of their guns were like flashes of lightning in the sky: and the noise of their matchlocks was like that of ground-nuts†^{683a} popping in the frying-pan. So heavy was the gun-fire that the men of Malaka could no longer maintain their position on the shore. The Franks then bore down upon the bridge with their galleys and foysts. Thereupon Sultan Ahmad came forth, mounted on his elephant Jituji.

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[191—192] The Sri Awadana was on the elephant's head, and to balance him on the packsaddle Sultan Ahmad took him (Makhdum Sadar Jahan because he was studying the doctrine of the Unity of God with him. On the elephant's croup was Tun 'Ali Hati.

And the king went forth on to the bridge and stood there amid a hail of bullets. But Makhdum Sadar Jahan clasping the pannier with both hands cried out to Sultan Ahmad Shah "Sultan, this is no place to study the Unity of God, let us go home!" Sultan Ahmad smiled and returned to the palace. And the Franks shouted from their ships, "Take warning, you men of Malaka, to-morrow we land!", And the men of Malaka answered, "Very well!"

Sultan Ahmad Shah then sent out men to assemble†⁶⁸⁶ all his forces and bid†^{686a} them get ready their arms. That night the war-chiefs and the young nobles were waiting in the hall of audience, and the young nobles said, "Why do we sit here idly?†^{686b} It would be well for us to read a tale of war that we may profit from it." And Tun Muhammad Unta said, "That is very true, sir. Let us ask the Raja to give us the Story of Muhammad Hanafiah." Then the young nobles said to Tun Aria, "Go, sir, and take this message to the Ruler, that all of us crave from him the Story†⁶⁸⁷ of Muhammad Hanafiah, in the hope that we may obtain profit from it, for the Franks are attacking tomorrow." Tun Aria accordingly went into the palace and presented himself before Sultan Ahmad, to whom he addressed the young nobles' request. And Sultan Ahmad gave him the Story of Hamzah†⁶⁸⁸ saying, "We would give you the Story of Muhammad Hanafiah did we not fear that the bravery of the gentlemen of our court falls short of the bravery of Muhammad Hanafiah! But it may be that their bravery is such as was the bravery of Hamzah and that is why we give you the Story of Hamzah."

Tun Aria then left the palace bearing the Story of Hamzah and he told the young nobles what Sultan Ahmad had said. At first they were silent, but presently Tun Isak Berakah replied to Tun Aria, "Represent humbly to the Ruler that he has spoken amiss. If he will be as Muhammad Hanafiah, we will be as war-chief Bania' (Beniar): if†⁶⁸⁹ his bravery is as that of Muhammad Hanafiah, ours will be as that of war-chief Bania'." And when Tun Aria took this message from Tun Isak Berakah to Sultan Ahmad, the king smiled and gave them the Story of Muhammad Hanafiah instead.

When day dawned, the Franks landed and attacked. And Sultan Ahmad mounted his elephant Juru Demang, with the Sri Awadana on the elephant's head and Tun 'Ali Hati balancing the king on the packsaddle. The Franks then fiercely engaged the men of Malaka in battle and so vehement was their onslaught

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[192—193] that the Malaka line was broken, leaving the king on his elephant isolated (?)†⁶⁹⁰. And the king fought with the Franks pike to pike, and he was wounded in the palm of the hand. And he shewed†⁶⁹¹ the palm of his hand, saying "See this, Malays!" And when they saw that Sultan Ahmad was wounded in the hand, the war-chiefs returned to the attack and fought the Franks. . .

And Tun Salehu'd-din called upon Orang Kaya Sogoh to fight with the Franks pike to pike. And Tun Salehu'd-din was struck in the chest and killed, and twenty of the leading†⁶⁹² war-chiefs were killed. The Sri Awadana was wounded in the groin, so the elephant was made to kneel and he was put on a litter. Sultan Ahmad ordered him to be examined by a doctor, who explored the wound with the pointed end†⁶⁹³ of a sيره leaf and said, "All is well, the wound can be treated. But had it been half a rice grain deeper, the Sri Awadana would have died." And Malaka fell. The Franks advanced on the King's audience hall†⁶⁹⁴ (?) and the men of Malaka fled. Bendahara Lubok Batu was borne off the field by one Selamat Gagah, closely pursued by the Franks. And the Bendahara said to the man who was bearing him, "Hurl me against the Franks!" But his family would not allow this. Whereupon the Bendahara cried, "What cowards these young men are! If I was still a young man, I would die fighting for Malaka!"

Sultan Ahmad then withdrew to Hulu Muar and thence to Pagoh. Sultan Mahmud Shah had taken up his abode at Batu Hampar. Sultan Ahmad then established a fort at Bentayan. Meanwhile the Franks occupied Malaka where they turned the royal demesne into a fort; which fort is there to this day. Then the Franks advanced to Muar and attacked Pagoh, which fell after several days fighting; and Sang Stia was killed. Sultan Ahmad then withdrew to Hulu Muar. In Muar the Bendahara died: he was buried at Lubok Batu, whereafter he was known as Datok Lubok Batu. After a while Sultan Ahmad and his father, Sultan Mahmud Shah, left Hulu Muar and went†⁶⁹⁵ on to Pahang, where they were welcomed by the Raja of Pahang. Sultan Mahmud Shah gave his daughter by his Kelantan consort in marriage to the Raja of Pahang whose name was Sultan Mansur Shah. From Pahang Sultan Ahmad went to Bentan and established a settlement at Kopak†⁶⁹⁶.

Sultan Ahmad still had no love for his officers and chiefs: his favourites were the (young) men of the court of whom we have already made mention. When these young gentlemen dined at the palace, their food was hand-fed†⁶⁹⁷ fowl, rice cooked with turmeric, suet. Then when the officers of state and the

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[193—194] chiefs came to present themselves before Sultan Ahmad, the young men would say, "Where is that turmeric rice we had just now? Where are the remains of that hand-fed fowl we ate just now?" When Sultan Mahmud Shah came to hear how his son was behaving, he was displeased and gave orders to make^{†697a} away with him. Upon the death of Sultan Ahmad, his father, Sultan Mahmud Shah, became Raja. And he called together^{†698} all the young nobles and the slaves of Sultan Ahmad and said to them, "Let none of you be afraid. As you were with Ahmad, so shall you be with me." And they answered, "Very well, your Highness. Whatever be your Highness's bidding, there shall we be (to do it)." Sultan Mahmud Shah then sent for Tun 'Ali Hati. But Tun 'Ali Hati refused to come, saying, "As for me, it was your Highness's son who befriended me. If he had met his death at a foeman's hand, assuredly I would have died with him. As it is what am I to do? It is by the will of your Highness that the 'heavens'^{†699} have fallen upon the earth', and as Malay subjects are never disloyal, I can only ask that I be put to death." When Sultan Mahmud Shah was informed of what Tun 'Ali Hati, had said, he replied, "Tell 'Ali Hati, if Ahmad^{†699a} was a good friend to him, so will I be. Why does he talk in this way? I have no wish to put him to death!" What the Raja said was communicated to Tun 'Ali Hati, who replied, "What I would ask is that I may be put to death all the same, for I have no wish to serve another master." In vain did the king endeavour to persuade him not to throw away his life, Tun 'Ali Hati refused and only asked to be put to death. At last therefore Sultan Mahmud Shah ordered that he be put to death. Sultan Mahmud Shah now set about organizing the administration of his kingdom. Tun Pekerma^{†700} (sic), the Bendahara's son, was made Bendahara, with the title of Paduka Raja: the Sri Amarabangsa, grandson of Bendahara Puteh, was made Chief Minister and sat (in the hall of audience) opposite the Bendahara. [This Sri Amarabangsa was the father of Tun Abu Isahak, who was the father of Tun Abu Bakar. Tun Abu Bakar under the Johor empire held the title of Sri Amarabangsa. His brother was named Orang Kaya Tun Muhammad and he was the father of Orang Kaya Tun Undan and Orang Kaya Tun Sulat]. Tun Isak^{†701} was given the title of Paduka Tuan: and Tun Hamzah,^{†702} the son of the Sri Nara 'diraja, was made Treasurer, with the title of Sri Nara 'diraja. It was he who was a great favourite of Sultan Mahmud Shah. Tun Biajit Rupa, son of Bendahara Sri Maharaja, was made a minister of state with the title of Sri Utama. It was he who was the father of Tun Dolah. Tun 'Umar, son of Sri Maharaja^{†703} (sic), was also made a minister of state, with the title of Sri Pētam. Tun^{†703a} Muhammad, the brother of the Sri Nara 'diraja, was made Chief Herald, with the title of Tun Nara Wangsa: and the son of the Paduka Tuan

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[194—195] who was called Tun Mat was given the title of Tun Pekerma Wira.

Laksamana†⁷⁰⁴ Khoja Husain had died in sorrow and was buried on Bukit Pantau. It was he who was known subsequently as 'Laksamana Pantau'. Hang Nadim was then made Laksamana. It was he who gained great fame as a warrior and fought in thirty-two fights in which blood was shed by the bucketful†⁷⁰⁵. He married a cousin†^{705a} of Bendahara Lubok Batu and by her he had a son named Tun Mat 'Ali. (On the death of Sultan Ahmad) Sultan Mahmud Shah designated his son Raja Muzaffar Shah as his successor on the throne: and he married him with Tun Trang, grand-daughter of Bendahara Sri Maharaja and daughter of Tun Fatimah by Tun 'Ali. And whenever Raja Muzaffar Shah sat in the hall with people before him, there was laid for him first a spread-out mat and then a rug†⁷⁰⁶. On the rug there was a sitting-mat and on the top†^{706a} of all the royal cushion. Thereon he sat. Now Tun Fatimah was again with child: and when her time was accomplished, she brought forth a very good-looking son, whom Sultan Mahmud Shah named Raja Ala'u'd-din Shah. No sooner was this prince born than the royal cushion of Raja Muzaffar Shah was removed. And when Sultan Ala'u'd-din was seven days old, his father had his head†^{706b} shaved, whereupon the rug of Raja Muzaffar Shah was removed and he was left with nothing to sit upon except a mat such as ordinary people use. And when he was forty days old Sultan Ala'u'd-din was named by Sultan Mahmud Shad as his successor on the throne, to be styled Sultan Muda. And when in due course he reached man's estate Sultan Muda shewed himself to be a prince of very kindly disposition (?). God knoweth the truth.

Chapter XXIV

Sultan 'Abdullah, Raja of Kampar, refuses to visit Sultan Mahmud in Bentan or to own allegiance to him any longer: and fearing reprisals he seeks the assistance of the Portuguese. Sultan Mahmud orders an attack on Kampar, but the Malay fleet is worsted by the Portuguese and the Malays seek refuge in Indragiri where Tun Biajit beats all comers at cockfighting, including the Raja himself. Sultan 'Abdullah is taken prisoner by the Portuguese and sent first to Goa and then to Portugal. Sultan Mahmud sends for Sultan 'Abdullah's chiefs and vents his wrath upon them. (Part of this chapter will be found in *Shellabear, ch. XXXIV*)

Here now is a story of Sultan 'Abdullah, the Raja of Kampar†⁷⁰⁷, who had become disloyal and refused to acknowledge Sultan Mahmud as overlord or to present himself before him at Bentan. And he sent envoys to Malaka asking for the assistance of the Franks. This assistance was given by the Commandant of Malaka; which prompted subsequently the verse

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Tug†⁷⁰⁸ and lug, strain every nerve†⁷⁰⁹
 To lop a cubit's length of *kandis**:
 How mad must be this petty king
 To leave the sweet and toothsome *manggis*†
 Because he sees a *hartal*† ripe!

When Sultan Mahmud Shah heard about Raja 'Abdullah he was very angry and ordered an expedition to be fitted out for an attack on Kampar. Those who were appointed to go were forty ministers of state; first, the Sri Amarabangsa; second, the Sri Utama; third, the Sri Pëtam; fourth, the Sri Nara; fifth, Tun†^{709a} Biajit, a son of Laksamana Hang Tuah (? and) the war-chiefs. When the fleet was ready, the expedition set out, with the Sri Amarabangsa in command. And when they reached Kerumutan, the Franks who were on their way to assist Kampar with ten foysts and five brigantines encountered the Malay fleet and battle was engaged. After fierce fighting the Malay fleet was routed and all aboard the ships took to the water and came ashore at Kerumutan, whence they made their way to Indragiri. [When they took to the water Tun Biajit's mistress brought nothing away with her but one of Tun Biajit's cock-spurs. All who had mistresses with them bundled them up in matting for the march and made the crew†^{709b} carry them on their shoulders: then when they came to a stopping-place on the march, the bundles were opened.]

After a march of some days they reached Indragiri, whereupon the Sri Amarabangsa, the Sri Utama, the Sri Pëtam, the Sri Nara Tun Biajit and all the rest of the defeated company presented themselves before Sultan Narasinga†^{709c} who bestowed bounty upon them, to each man according to his rank. Tun Biajit sought out the best gamecock he could find and when he had tended†⁷¹⁰ it he went in for cock-fighting with it. When the men of Menangkabau saw Tun Biajit cock-fighting, they challenged him. And he accepted their challenges and fought them, sometimes winning, sometimes losing but more often winning. The Menangkabau people then joined together†⁷¹¹ to defeat Tun Biajit (?). Raja Narasinga had a cock that had been brought from Menangkabau. This cock had been taken round thirty cities by its owner for a match, but no one would accept the challenge. It weighed ten tahils †^{711a} and the owner †^{711b} would say, "For a fight with this cock of mine the challenger must put up its weight in gold as the†^{711c} stakes." When Raja Narasinga bade Tun Biajit pit his cock against this one, Tun Biajit agreed and proceeded to look for a cock. When he had found one to his liking, he got it ready for the ring and then challenged the Menangkabau owner. And Raja Nara Singa said, "You and I,

* an acid fruit

† mangosteen

† unidentified.

[196—197] Tun Biajit, will fight for ten tahils, and the owner of the bird (I am backing) will put the weight of it in gold as his stake. That makes†^{711a} a catty of gold and people at the ringside will put up ten tahils, making thirty tahils as the total stakes.” All Tun Biajit’s men then proceeded to wager on Tun Biajit’s bird.

When the birds had been pitted against each other, the spurs were put on and Tun Biajit stained the spurs of his cock with the blackening oil that gives long life (?) He then said, “Stakes, please”, and the Menangkabau people put up their stakes, some a tahlil, some two tahils, some three tahils. When all thirty tahils had been put up, Tun Biajit proceeded to divide up the gold in parcels, some of two tahils, some of a tahlil and some of half a tahlil. When this was done, he distributed the gold among his companions and what was left over he tied up securely into a package. The cocks were then released, and no sooner had Raja Narasinga’s set foot in the ring than it was stabbed in the wattle by Tun Biajit’s and lay prostrate. And forthwith the men of Bentan gave a mighty cheer. The men of Menangkabau had learnt their lesson and from that day onwards†⁷¹² refused to cock-fight again with Tun Biajit!

After the men of Bentan had stayed some while in Indragiri, Raja Singa gave orders for them to be conveyed back to Bentan.

And the fleet of the Franks that defeated the Bentan fleet went up the river to Kampar so that the Franks could present themselves before Sultan ‘Abdullah. And Sultan ‘Abdullah gave robes of honour to the Portuguese commander, and he then went aboard a foyst of the Franks to see what a foyst was like. Forthwith the Franks bound Raja ‘Abdullah and the foyst set off downstream, to the amazement of the people of Kampar. Sultan ‘Abdullah was taken by the Franks to Malaka. And when they arrived there, the Portuguese commander strongly†⁷¹³ (bound?) Sultan ‘Abdullah and sent him to Goa, whence he was taken to Portugal. This incident inspired the verse

To sitt†⁷¹⁴ beneath a falling plank
 For chiefs is idiotic:
 To eat of hemp is clearly mad
 When hemp is a narcotic (R.O.W.)

When Sultan Mahmud Shah heard how Sultan ‘Abdullah had been seized by the Franks, he was deeply grieved and he sent messengers to Kampar to call Sultan ‘Abdullah’s ministers. And when they came and presented themselves before Sultan Mahmud Shah, he vented his wrath upon them, saying, “Is it true that all of you stood by and refused to risk your lives for my son †⁷¹⁵?” And all of them bowed their heads in shame, not a man daring to look up. And the Bendahara of Kampar, who

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[197] had the title of Paduka Tuan, was reduced in rank by the king and became Sri Amaradiraja.

God knoweth the truth.

Chapter XXV

The Raja of Lingga goes to Bentan to pay his respects and is warmly received by Sultan Mahmud. The Raja of Indragiri sets off to Bentan to pay his respects and hearing that the Raja of Lingga is away seizes this opportunity to pay off an old score and ravages Lingga. On arrival at Bentan the Raja of Indragiri receives a warm welcome, is married to one of Sultan Mahmud's daughters and recognized as ruler of Indragiri with the title of Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil. When the Raja of Lingga gets back to Lingga and finds what has happened during his absence he returns to Bentan to lay his grievances before Sultan Mahmud. The latter does his best to heal the breach between Lingga and Indragiri, but the Raja of Lingga returns to his country and taking advantage of Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil's absence attacks and ravages Indragiri. Fearing reprisals from Bentan he seeks the help of the Portuguese and when the inevitable attack from Bentan comes, the Portuguese repel it. Sultan Mahmud then sends an expedition against the Portuguese in Malacca, under the command of the Paduka Tuan with Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil of Indragiri as 'observer.' It is unsuccessful and the Paduka Tuan is recalled. His quarrel with Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil. (Not in Shellabear)

Here now is a story of Lingga, where the old Maharaja had died and had been succeeded by Maharaja Isak†⁷¹⁶ as ruler of Lingga. (On his accession to the throne) Maharaja Isak ordered ships to be made ready to take him to Bentan to do homage. And when the ships were ready he (? set†⁷¹⁷ sail for Bentan and on arrival there) went up the river to the city to present himself before Sultan Mahmud Shah, who received him with the honour and distinction befitting his rank and gave him a place†⁷¹⁸ in the hall of audience immediately below the Laksamana. For it was the custom that the Maharaja of Lingga should sit below the Laksamana: on any journey and whenever a halt was called the Maharaja of Lingga had to enhance†⁷¹⁹ the dignity of the Laksamana and the Raja of Tungkal that of the Bendahara. Thus was the custom of ancient times and it applied particularly in the case of this Laksamana, for he was an elder kinsman of Maharaja Isak†⁷²⁰.

Now it happened that Raja Narasinga, the Raja of Indragiri, had also made ready to go to Bentan to do homage: but when he heard that Lingga was deserted, he made straight for Lingga and ravaged it, taking captive the wife and children of Maharaja Isak and carrying them off to Indragiri. For there was a feud†⁷²¹ of long standing between Raja Narasinga and the Raja of Lingga. Raja Narasinga then went on to Bentan to present

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[197—198] himself before Sultan Mahmud Shah, to find that the Maharaja of Lingga had returned to Lingga. Raja Narasinga was a great favourite of Sultan Mahmud Shah's. When news came to Bentan that Sultan Mansur Shah, the Raja of Pahang, had died at the hand of his father, having been caught in the act of adultery with his father's wife, Sultan Mahmud Shah sent for his daughter, the consort of Sultan Mansur Shah and when she arrived gave her in marriage to Raja Narasinga, upon whom Sultan Mahmud Shah conferred the title of Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil, at the same time according to him the drum of sovereignty. And Sultan Mahmud Shah shewed great affection for Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil, greater than for any other of his sons-in-law. By Sultan Mahmud Shah's daughter Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil had two sons, (the elder) Raja Ahmad and the younger Raja Muhammad whose pet name was Raja Pang.

When Maharaja Isak reached Lingga and found that his city had been ravaged and his family taken into captivity, he returned forthwith to Bentan with the intention of laying his case before Sultan Mahmud Shah. But when on arrival at Bentan he found Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil installed as son-in-law of Sultan Mahmud Shah, he was helpless. Sultan Mahmud Shah endeavoured to effect a reconciliation between him and Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil and had his family restored to him: but even so Maharaja Isak could see that between him and Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil there was a wide gulf fixed by reason of Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil being†^{721a} Sultan Mahmud Shah's son-in-law. He therefore sought leave to return to Lingga. When he was back in Lingga, he appeared in public before his ministers with his face smeared with charcoal or chalk. When his ministers ventured to point out to him that he had charcoal on his face, he forthwith wiped his face: and the next time that he appeared in public, the same thing happened. After this had happened two or three times, one day when Maharaja Isak appeared in public with his face smeared with charcoal as before, his ministers said to him, "How comes it that we see your†⁷²² Highness's countenance besmeared?" And Maharaja Isak answered, "Know you not what it signifies? And when they replied that they knew not, Maharaja Isak said, "If I can count†^{721b} on you to remove †^{721c} these smears from my face, I will tell you why they are here." And his ministers said, "How should we not be ready to carry out the task? Even if it should cost us our lives, we are with your Highness." Then said Maharaja Isak, "Know you not how my wife and my children were taken captive by the men of Indragiri? The day has now come for me to attack Indragiri! Will you go with me?" And the ministers pledged their word. Maharaja Isak then ordered ships to be made ready, and when they were ready, he set forth to attack Indragiri and he ravaged the country. The men of

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[198—199] Indragiri could offer no effective resistance, for the war-chiefs had all gone with Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil to Bentan: and Maharaja Isak captured all that was left in Indragiri of Raja Narasinga's family and returned to Lingga.

And when he was come to Lingga, Maharaja Isak took counsel with himself, thinking, "I am certain to be attacked by the Ruler", so he sent envoys to Malaka to ask for assistance. And the Portuguese sent three galleys, two foysts, eight brigantines and twenty carracks. Meanwhile men from Indragiri came to Bentan to inform Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil, who thereupon upon went to Sultan Mahmud Shah and sought leave to return to Indragiri, as the country had been ravaged by Maharaja Isak. And Sultan Mahmud Shah was highly enraged by the news about Indragiri and forthwith ordered that a fleet be made ready for an attack upon Lingga. He proposed to put the Laksamana in command of the expedition, but the Laksamana was unwilling to go and sought to be excused on the ground that Maharaja Isak was his kinsman. "If", he said, "Lingga is not defeated, people will say that it was through trickery on my part. Let me be sent to Malaka." So the Laksamana made ready a fleet of twelve ships to go to Malaka and Sang Stia was put in command of the expedition against Lingga; and the war-chiefs all set out with him. When the fleet reached Lingga, they encountered the Franks who were assisting Lingga and had anchored in the (?) Dendang roads. Sang Stia and his men thereupon engaged the Franks and a fierce battle ensued for the entrance to Lingga, but they were foiled because the Franks blocked the way. Sang Stia's fleet then charged the fleet of the Franks and many were those who were hit by the fire of the Franks, among them Sang Jaya Pekerma whose forearm was shot away so that the sinews were left dangling. The ships of the Franks were not defeated, nor did Lingga fall: and Sang Stia returned to Bentan, where he presented himself before Sultan Mahmud Shah and told him all that had happened. And the king was enraged. As for Sang Jaya Pekerma, orders were given for a doctor to treat his wound. When the doctor plugged the wound, Sang Jaya Pekerma groaned: and Sang Guna said to him, "Why all this groaning? Aren't you a man?" When he heard what Sang Guna said, Sang Jaya Pekerma held his peace and whatever treatment was administered to him he said not a word. But after a few days he died.

Meanwhile the Laksamana and Sang Naya had gone to Malaka with twelve ships; and on arriving there they anchored for three days at the mouth of the river. The Franks made no attempt to attack them, for their fleet was away at Lingga and only two foysts remained. Now there was a Frank by the name of Gonsalo who was about to succeed to the command of the

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[199—200] Frankish forces: and he said to the commander whom he was succeeding, "If you go out with these two foysts, the Malays will not attack them." But the commander of Malaka replied, "If I go out with these two foysts, the Laksamana will attack us, for he is no ordinary man!" When Gonsalo heard this, he took a trayful(?)†⁷²³ of . . . and ordered it to be taken to the bridge, saying, "Whoever is prepared to go with me and drive off the Laksamana, let him take this? for himself!" The Portuguese soldiers forthwith mustered†⁷²⁴ round him, Gonsalo went abroad and made ready and the two foysts then put out, with only white Franks to row them, there being no Indian sailors. When the Laksamana saw the two foysts approaching, he said to Sang Naya, "You attack one of the foysts with your six craft and I will attack the other with mine." When they had thus divided up their forces, the Laksamana and Sang Naya rowed out, encountered the foysts of the Franks at? and engaged them. The Laksamana made for the foyst of Gonsalo and came alongside it; and so fierce was the fighting that in Gonsalo's foyst many were killed and wounded and the Laksamana's craft was knee-deep in blood, while from the? and the hanging? blood dripped like rain. Thus was it too in the foyst of the Franks. And as they fought they drifted from Malaka island right down to Punggor. Meanwhile Sang Naya had attacked the other foyst but was hit by the gunfire from the Franks and severely wounded. When Sang Naya was hit, his ship drifted and the men of the other ships broke off the engagement. And the foyst besought Gonsalo to turn his fire on to the Laksamana and if he had not given this assistance, the Franks might well have been defeated. By this time the combatants had drifted apart and the Franks withdrew as far as Hujung Pasir where they were held up†⁷²⁵ and could not gain an entrance into the Malaka river, so Franks from the fort came and brought†⁷²⁶ them in. As the result of the day's fighting the Malaka people made this verse

Gonsalo's his name, of Malaka the lord,
What a fool he felt when he kept not his word†⁷²⁷!

The Laksamana and Sang Naya then returned to Bentan and presented themselves before Sultan Mahmud Shah. And the king was displeased†⁷²⁸ with the Laksamana for refusing to go to Lingga, but he rewarded Sang Naya with robes of honour and gave him his concubine, Tun Sadah, whom Sang Naya married. By her he had two children, a son named Tun Dolah and a daughter named Tun Munah who was subsequently married to Tun Bilang, son of Tun 'Abdul who was the son of the old Laksamana, Hang Tuah. By Tun Munah Tun Bilang had a son, Tun Mërak.

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Some while after this Sultan Mahmud Shah gave orders for a fleet to be made ready for an attack on Malaka, under the leadership of the Paduka Tuan. On this expedition were to go Tun Narawangsa, the Laksamana, Sang Stia, Sang Naya, Sang Rana, •Sang Sri Stia and all the war-chiefs: and Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil, the Raja of Indragiri, was to accompany them as observer†⁷²⁹. When the fleet was ready, the Paduka Tuan and Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil set forth together with all the war-chiefs: only the ministers of state remained at Bentan. And when the expedition reached Sawang waters they fell in with a Brunai(?) ship bound for Malaka. The Paduka Tuan hailed the master of this ship and he came to present himself before the Paduka Tuan. Meanwhile Sang Stia whose ship was nearest†^{730?} went with Tun Krah, Tun Menawar and Tun Dolah to the Brunai ship, and Sang Stia and the young men with him boarded the ship and proceeded to loot it. When the master of the Brunai ship saw that his ship was being looted, he took leave of the Paduka Tuan and returned to his ship. When Sang Stia saw him coming he left the ship and embarked in his own boat, but the master of the Brunai ship attacked those still there and they jumped overboard. He then set sail for home, but the Malay ships that? had taken many†⁷³¹ captives. The Laksamana said therefore to the Paduka Tuan, "I think it would be as well if, sir, you ordered an investigation to be made of those who have taken captives, in case the Ruler should inquire." The Paduka agreed and bade the Laksamana go and investigate. "Very well, I will go and do so," said the Laksamana: and he proceeded with his investigation. From those who had taken captives, the Laksamana took one from whoever had two and two from whoever had four. But when he came to Tun Krah's ship, he found Tun Krah regaling his crew with food and drink. The crew had gathered in the fore part of the ship, which was accordingly down by the bows. When the Laksamana saw that the ship was down by the bows, he assumed†⁷³² that Tun Krah had no captives, so he passed on to the ship of Tun Dolah. Tun Dolah had two captives, one fair and the other dark; and the Laksamana said to him, "Choose the one you want, Tun Dolah." And Tun Dolah said, "When I have but two, are you going to take one from me? If you are, take the lot!" And the Laksamana replied, "No, Tun Dolah, you had better choose one." And Tun Dolah said "No, I won't! You can take them all!" Then answered the Laksamana, "Very well then, Tun Dolah, if you don't want any, put them off your ship." But when the Laksamana was on the point of taking both girls off the ship, Tun Dolah said, "Leave the dark one!" And the Laksamana smiled and left the dark girl with Tun Dolah. He then went on to the ship of Sang Stia, but Sang Stia gathered†⁷³³ all his craft around him and said, "If you try and inquire here, I'll fight you! Never

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[201—202] were the doings of one war-chief inquired into by†⁷³⁴ another!’ If you are a great war-chief, Laksamana, so am I!” And the Laksamana answered, “I have been sent by the Paduka Tuan, brother, to make inquiry, I am not here to quarrel with you. If you agree to the inquiry, I will make it. If not, I will go back and inform the Chief.” And the Laksamana returned to the Paduka Tuan and told him what Sang Stia had said. The Paduka Tuan then ordered a boy of his to go and question Sang Stia. And when he arrived, Sang Stia said, “For the Paduka Tuan’s page boy to question me is but right and proper†⁷³⁵. But the Laksamana—no! For he is a war-chief and so am I!”

After that the Paduka Tuan set forth from Sawang and after a voyage of some days reached Malaka and stayed at Pulau Sabat, where Sultan ‘Abdu’l-Jalil, the Paduka Tuan and the rest of the party went ashore for pleasure. That evening the Indragiri men brought the royal drum and were about to sound it when Sultan ‘Abdu’l-Jalil forbade them, saying, “Don’t beat the drum yet, the Paduka Tuan is still†⁷³⁵ here.” But the Paduka Tuan replied, “Beat on, for we go to meet the enemy†⁷³⁶!” “Very well, if you say so,” said Sultan ‘Abdu’l-Jalil, and forthwith the first notes†⁷³⁷ on the royal drum were sounded. Thereupon the Paduka Tuan went back to his ship. Then said Sultan ‘Abdu’l-Jalil, “I have been insulted by the Paduka Tuan. I realised that he could not very well be present when the royal drum was being beaten in my honour, and that is why I said it was not to be beaten. Why then after telling us to beat the drum did he forthwith return to his ship? Was it not because he wished to insult me?” When the Paduka Tuan came to hear what Sultan ‘Abdu’l-Jalil had said, he observed, “Is it likely that I could with propriety attend the beating of the drum for the Raja of Indragiri?” When Sultan ‘Abdu’l-Jalil came to hear what the Paduka Tuan had said, his comment was, “Of course the Paduka Tuan could not assist at a ceremony in my honour. That was why I said the drum was not to be beaten. Why then did he tell us to beat it?”

The expedition then went on to Malaka, where it was agreed that an attack should be delivered on Thursday night, Sang Stia to attack from the seaward and the Paduka Tuan, the Laksamana and the war-chiefs from Ayer Leleh. But that night there was a very great storm with heavy rain and it was not possible to attack from the landward side. Sang Stia did however attack that night and sank one ship. On the following night the Paduka Tuan made ready to attack. It happened that Bidam Stia, Sultan Mahmud’s riding elephant, had been left behind at Muar. The Paduka Tuan sent for this elephant and mounted it for the attack on Malaka, with the elephant headman†⁷³⁸ (who bore the title of Maharaja Kunjara) on the elephant’s head and Tun Mahmud,

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[202—203] the Paduka Tuan's son, balancing his father on the packsaddle. [This Tun Mahmud was known as Datok Lëgur] By the side of the elephant marched the Laksamana and the war-chiefs. And the Franks opened fire from the fort, the cannon balls falling like rain, and man after man was killed, until no one would carry the lanterns†⁷³⁹ any longer. Presently however two young men of the Paduka Tuan's, Hang Hasan and Hang Husain, volunteered to carry them. And such was the terror inspired by the gunfire that those who marched refused to go far from the side of the Paduka Tuan's elephant. But they said, "We'd better be on our guard with this Bidam Stia, he's full of vice, or we shall find we've saved our skin's from the cannon balls only to be killed by an elephant†⁷⁴⁰!" But Maharaja replied, "Have no fear, gentlemen! Let Bidam Stia but wriggle†⁷⁴¹ his trunk and get out of line and he'll get a kick from me!"

When they were close to the fort of Malaka the Paduka Tuan drove his elephant, Bidam Stia, at the fort and the elephant's right tusk was broken. Meanwhile many were killed or wounded by the gunfire of the Franks from the fort and when day dawned the Malays retreated to the hill. Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil then sent a letter to Bentan giving a full account of the battle, highly commending Sang Stia but disparaging the Paduka Tuan. When the letter reached Bentan, Sultan Mahmud Shah was exceedingly angry and commanded Tun Bijaya Sura to bring the Paduka Tuan back. And he gave him two letters, one to Sang Stia which was worded thus, "Greeting and prayers to God from the elder brother to the younger brother Sang Stia", and one to the Paduka Tuan which did not even mention his name but merely ran as follows:—"If a man says his valour is greater than that of Hamzah and 'Ali, and if he says his knowledge is greater than that of Imam Ghazali, and it is not so then is he a greater liar than Saiyid al-Hak†⁷⁴²!" Tun Bijaya Sura then set out for Malaka and on arriving there he conveyed the royal command to the Paduka Tuan, handing the letter to him before all those present. When the Paduka Tuan heard what was in the letter, he realised that it was to himself that the letter applied: and he and Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil and the war-chiefs all returned to Bentan, taking the elephant Bidam Stia with them.

After a voyage of some days they reached Bentan and went to the palace to present themselves: and they found that Sultan Mahmud Shah was giving an audience. Raja 'Abdu'l-Jalil, the Paduka Tuan and the war-chiefs then did obeisance and took their seats at their appointed places in the hall. When Sultan Mahmud Shah asked Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil how the fighting had gone, Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil gave him a full account of it and said, "If only the Paduka Tuan had been willing to attack on that Thursday night when Sang Stia delivered his attack, I fancy

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[203—204] it would have gone hard with Malaka.” When Sultan Mahmud Shah heard the words of Sultan ‘Abdu’l-Jalil he was very angry with the Paduka Tuan. And the Paduka Tuan knelt and did obeisance to Sultan Mahmud Shah. Then he turned and confronted Sultan ‘Abdu’l-Jalil, and said, “Now then, Sultan ‘Abdu’l-Jalil, here am I come to present myself before the Raja and you tell him what is not true. Even if I did agree to attack on that Thursday night, there was a great storm that night and what was I, an old man, to do? So far from being able to fight, it was all I could do to pull my blanket over me! But on that Friday night did you not see how Bidam Stia broke a tusk when I drove him at Malaka fort? You think†⁷⁴³ that because you are the Ruler’s favourite son-in-law, you can say anything you please. For you I have no fear, however much you may curse me (?) †⁷⁴⁴! The only man I fear is the Ruler, he is my liege lord. The idea†^{744a} of the Raja of Indragiri also being my master! If you want to fight, I am ready!” When Sultan ‘Abdu’l-Jalil heard the words of the Paduka Tuan he bowed his head in shame, and Sultan Mahmud said not a word. After a long audience Sultan Mahmud Shah retired and all those present returned, each to his house†⁷⁴⁵.

God knoweth the truth. To Him do we return.

Chapter XXVI

Raja ‘Abdul of Siak visits Bentan, is recognized by Sultan Mahmud as ruler of Siak with the title of Sultan Khoja Ahmad Shah and married to one of Sultan Mahmud’s daughters. Sultan Mahmud sends the Paduka Tuan to the Western territories to call their governor, Tun Aria Bija ‘diraja, who had not paid his respects to Sultan Mahmud since the fall of Malacca.

(Not in Shellabear)

Here now is a story of Siak, where on the death of the Raja, Sultan†⁷⁴⁶ Ibrahim, the throne had passed to Raja ‘Abdul, his son by a daughter of the Raja of Malaka. After his accession Raja ‘Abdul had ships made ready to take him to Bentan to do homage to Sultan Mahmud Shah. And when they were ready, Raja ‘Abdul set out. And when after a voyage of some days he reached Bentan, he went to the palace and presented himself before Sultan Mahmud Shah, who was well pleased to see him and had him installed as Raja by beat of drum, bestowing upon him the title of Sultan Khoja Ahmad Shah. Sultan Mahmud Shah then took him as son-in-law, and by Sultan Mahmud’s daughter Sultan Khoja Ahmad Shah had two sons, Jamal and Raja Biajit. Now Sultan Khoja Ahmad had a brother, named Raja Sema’un, and he married a daughter of Raja Kinta (?) at Muar: by her he had three daughters and two sons, Raja Isak and Raja Kudrat.

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[204—205] Now it happened one night that Sultan Mahmud Shah was speaking†^{746a} of the vassal states towards the West, viz. Bruas and Manjong, and was saying how long it was since he had had a visit from their rulers (?), and how even Tun Aria Bija 'diraja had not presented himself before the king since†⁷⁴⁷ the fall of Malaka. That same night he sent for the Bendahara and said to him, "What think you should be done? The western territories are slipping from our hands!" And the Bendahara answered, "I suggest, your Highness, that the Paduka Tuan be sent to the West to summon Tun Aria Bija 'diraja hither, for the Paduka Tuan is his†⁷⁴⁸ brother-in-law." And Sultan Mahmud Shah said, "I agree. Inform the Paduka Tuan." And the Bendahara replied that he would do so, and he then left the palace and went home. Having sent for the Paduka Tuan he conveyed to him the commands of Sultan Mahmud Shah, and the Paduka Tuan undertook to go. On the following day, when Sultan Mahmud Shah gave an audience to princes, ministers,†^{748a} knights and war-chiefs, the Bendahara and the Paduka Tuan presented themselves before him and took their customary places in the hall. The Bendahara then said to Sultan Mahmud Shah, "Your Highness, I have conveyed to the Paduka Tuan what your Highness was pleased to say last night, and he has undertaken to go." And Sultan Mahmud Shah was well pleased to hear this and said, "Very well, if the Paduka Tuan is willing to go, we will appoint him accordingly." Then said the Paduka Tuan, "Very well, your Highness. I am your servant. Whatever your Highness may appoint me to do, is it conceivable that I should disobey? But if he whom I am sent to fetch will not come willingly, I shall bring him before your Highness by force!" The Paduka Tuan then had twenty ships made ready.

And when the ships were ready, the Paduka Tuan set out; and he took with him his wife and his son, Tun Mahmud (Shah), who was known as Datok Lëgur. The Paduka Tuan's wife, Tun Sëbat, was a sister of Tun Aria Bija 'diraja. When in due course the Paduka Tuan reached the Western territory, Tun Aria Bija 'diraja came out to welcome him. And when they met, they embraced each other. And the Paduka Tuan said, "I have brought your sister." To which Tun Aria Bija 'diraja replied, "Oh, my sister has come, has she?" Tun Aria Bija 'diraja then took them to his house: and he asked on what business the Paduka Tuan was come. And the Paduka Tuan answered, "I am come here with orders to summon you to appear before the Ruler, sir." And Tun Aria Bija 'diraja said, "Even if I had not been summoned to appear, I was resolved to go and present myself, for whom else (but the Raja) do I regard as my master? To no one but Sultan Mahmud Shah do I pay homage! But I shall not go forthwith in response to this summons of yours. Even had you come with

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[205—206] but one ship, it would have been called an 'expedition' (sent to fetch me): and if I go now to present myself, people will say that it is not of my own volition (?) that I am going but because you forced me to go! And the Paduka Tuan said, "I understand. (Meanwhile now that I am here) let us marry your daughter, Tun Mah, with this boy of mine, Mahmud." And Tun Aria Bija 'diraja agreed.

When the propitious day arrived, the marriage of Tun Mahmud and Tun Mah was celebrated. The Paduka Tuan then returned to Bentan, leaving Tun Mahmud with Tun Aria Bija 'diraja and giving him Selangor as his fief.

One arriving at Bentan the Paduka Tuan went to the palace and presented himself before Sultan Mahmud Shah, to whom he related what Tun Aria Bija 'diraja had said. Sultan Mahmud Shah was well pleased to hear it. After the Paduka Tuan had left the Western territory, Tun Bija 'diraja ordered a fleet of thirty sail to be made ready to take him to Bentan: and when the fleet was ready, he set out. When he reached Bentan, he went to the palace and presented himself before Sultan Mahmud Shah, who was well pleased to receive this visit from the Raja of the Western territory and bestowed upon him robes of honour complete with all accessories. At the same time he gave him the drum of sovereignty and ordered that he be installed by beat of drum as ruler in the Western territory. Tun Aria Bija 'diraja for his part undertook to bring the men of Manjong and the men of the outlying districts of the Western territory for an attack upon Malaka. Sultan Mahmud Shah then bade Tun Aria Bija 'diraja return to the Western Territory: and drawing the ring from his finger he gave it to Tun Aria Bija 'diraja, saying, "You, Tun Aria Bija 'diraja, are like this ring†^{748b} of ours, we cast it†^{748c} into the sea in the hope that if fortune favours us it may float!" Tun Aria Bija 'diraja then did homage and was given robes of honour as befitted his rank. Thereupon he set out on his return journey: and when in due course he reached the Western territory, his drum of sovereignty was beaten and all the war-chiefs were present at the ceremony. When it was concluded, all those present did obeisance to Tun Aria Bija 'diraja, but he himself turning towards Bentan did obeisance, saying, "Your Majesty, Sultan Mahmud Shah!" Tun Aria Bija 'diraja had three sons: one was given the title of Raja Lela, the second that of Tun Rana and the third was called Tun Sayid. [After that†⁷⁴⁹ Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil sought leave of Sultan Mahmud Shah to return to Indragiri, where he arrived in due course]

God knoweth the truth.

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Chapter XXVII

The story of Sultan Husain, Raja of Haru, and his journey to Bentan to seek the hand of Raja Puteh, Sultan Mahmud's beautiful daughter. His adventures at Bentan. He marries Raja Puteh and returns to Haru vastly impressed with the pomp and dignity of the court of Sultan Mahmud in exile.

(Not in Shellabear)

Here now is a story of the Raja of Haru, whose name was Sultan Husain†⁷⁵⁰. He was a remarkably handsome, well-built man; and such was his strength and valour that he would declare, "Put me on my elephant Dēsēng, with Tambang behind me and Pikang marching at the elephant's side, then if I fought †⁷⁵⁰ Java, the whole of Java (would be no match for me): if I fought China, the whole of China (would be no match for me): if I fought the Franks on the mainland, (they would be no match for me)!" When Sultan Husain came to hear of the beauty of Raja†⁷⁵¹ Puteh, he conceived a great desire for her: and on the strength of the reports he had received of her beauty and of the great affection Sultan Mahmud Shah had for her, he proposed to go to Bentan and seek her hand. But his mother was opposed to this design and said, "Go not, Sultan, to Hujung †^{751a} Tanah, for (? the Raja) is our†⁷⁵² enemy." But Sultan Husain replied, "Even if I risk death at his hands, I am determined to go and present myself before the great Raja at Hujung Tanah!": and despite his mother's efforts to dissuade him he insisted on going.

Sultan Husain then set out for Bentan with two ships†⁷⁵³, one for himself and one for his retinue, and after a voyage of some days they came to Layam, where Sultan Mahmud Shah ordered that he be welcomed by the Bendahara and the ministers of state. The Bendahara was told to take the Sultan Muda†⁷⁵⁴ with him on his lap. He set forth accordingly, with a dozen or more ships, and met the Haru party at Tekuni (?). When Sultan Husain's ship was alongside the ship carrying the Sultan Muda, Sultan Husain hastened forth from under the awning of his ship and stood out on the deck, and the Bendahara appeared on the deck in his ship with the Sultan Muda. Sultan Husain then said, "Let me come aboard your ship." And when the Bendahara suggested that the Sultan Muda should go aboard Sultan Husain's ship, Sultan Husain replied, "What I should like is to be paddled†⁷⁵⁵ by your Sakai!" Then said the Bendahara, "In that case, your Highness, please come on board this ship." Sultan Husain accordingly went aboard the Bendahara's ship and took the Sultan Muda on his lap. The crew then plied their paddles and Sultan Husain's ship was soon left far behind.

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[207—208] When they reached the outer fort the Bendahara ordered his crew to stop paddling. And when Sultan Husain asked what they were being stopped for, the Bendahara said, "Your Highness's ship is still far behind!" And Sultan Husain answered, "Why, Bendahara, such was my desire to see our great Raja that I set out from Haru with but two^{†756} ships. Am I to waste time now waiting for my ship? Paddle on, please, that we may tarry not in presenting ourselves before the Raja!" So the crew paddled on: and when they reached Jambu Ayer, Sultan Mahmud Shah himself came out on his elephant to meet Sultan Husain, who did obeisance to him. Sultan Mahmud Shah then embraced Sultan Husain and put him on his elephant, seating him on the other side of the packsaddle with the Sultan Muda on his lap. Thus they proceeded to the palace.

And when they were come into the palace, they took their seats in the hall of audience, and Sultan Mahmud Shah made Sultan Husain sit beside him. Food was then brought and Sultan Mahmud Shah ate with Sultan Husain. Now Sultan Husain had a herald called Sri Indra. He stood beside Sultan Husain, and when cock-fighting began on the lawn outside the hall and the shouts of the onlookers reached the hall, such was Sultan Husain's passion for cock-fighting that he turned^{†757a} his back on Sultan Mahmud Shah and stretching out ^{†757b}his hand he said (to Sri Indra), "Put this on for me!" But Sri Indra pulled him by the thigh,^{†758} saying, "The Raja, your Highness!" Sultan Hussain forthwith faced Sultan Mahmud Shah again and did homage. Thus did he behave. [Sultan Husain had a war-chief called Din: and it was his habit when he had been drinking and was the worse for liquor, to sing the praises of his war-chiefs, saying: "Din is a brave man as was his father before him. Where do you find a brave son of a lily-livered father?" He praised all and sundry but especially^{†759} Din] And people told Sultan Husain that Sultan Mahmud Shah would not accept^{†760} him (? as a suitor for the hand of Raja Puteh.) When he heard this, Sultan Husain said, "If I am not accepted, I'll make war on this land of Bentan!" So saying he ripped off^{†762} the sleeve of his jacket and so violently did he tug it that came away with a sharp rending sound. Then he stuffed the sleeve with gravel and whirled it so fiercely round that it rattled and crackled!

We are told that while he was at Bentan, seven times a day did Sultan Husain change his jacket and the sheath^{†761a} of his creese! Subsequently Sultan Mahmud Shah accepted him (as suitor for the hand of Raja Puteh) to the joy of Sultan Husain, whose war-chiefs came continuously from Haru to join him: every day brought a ship or two ships. And they all gathered together, in number a hundred. Sultan Mahmud

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[208—209] Shah then began the festivities for the wedding of Sultan Husain and Raja Puteh, and they went on for three months, day and night. At the end of the three months Sultan Husain was married to Raja Puteh: but no sooner had the marriage taken place than Raja Puteh conceived a dislike for Sultan Husain and fled back to her father. Sultan Mahmud Shah then bestowed another of his daughters upon Sultan Husain, but he would have none of her and said, "This girl is my sister and I want her not. It is my wife that I want and none other." The Bendahara then said to Sultan Mahmud Shah, "Why does your Highness indulge your daughter in her refusal to return to Sultan Husain? Why, even if your Highness was only an officer†⁷⁶² of state, how bad it would sound!" And Sultan Mahmud Shah agreed and gave orders that Raja Puteh be coaxed into returning to Sultan Husain. After that Raja Puteh did return to Sultan Husain, who was overjoyed, and they became deeply enamoured of each other. Ere long Sultan Husain began to think of returning to Haru, "for", said he, "there are three things that make life here in Bentan impossible for me! The first is Hang Embong's trick of whispering: the second is Tun Rana's tricks of saying 'by your leave': and the third†⁷⁶⁴ is Tun Bija Sura's *latah**." As regards Hang Embong's "whisper"—whatever he said, whether good or ill, was said in a whisper, which made people suspicious, as whispering always suggests secrecy. As for Tun Rana's "by your leave"—it was Tun Rana's habit, even when people were sitting so close together that their thighs were touching, to make his way past, with a 'by your leave', and step over them. As for Tun Bija Sura's *latah*†^{764a}—if he had a fit of *latah* and no one took any notice of him, he would pluck (?) at people's sarongs to get himself noticed and would go on plucking until he tore them. It was by reason of these three people that Sultan Husain found life in Bentan impossible, and he sought leave of Sultan Mahmud Shah to return to Haru. Sultan Mahmud Shah agreed and Sultan Husain had ships made ready accordingly.

When they were ready, Sultan Husain together with Raja Puteh, his wife, did homage to Sultan Mahmud Shah, who embraced them both. And there was the sound of lamenting in the palace as of mourning for the dead. And Sultan Mahmud Shah bestowed upon Raja Puteh jewellery and regalia beyond counting, together with a *bahara* of gold: he gave to her everything that he used or wore, so that there remained for the Sultan Muda nothing but a bowl of gold alloy.....and the bedragoned sword of kingship. And the Bendahara said to Sultan Mahmud Shah, "Your Highness's son, the Sultan Muda, will be Raja one day, but your Highness has given everything to your Highness's daughter who goes to Haru, and there is nothing left for the

* paroxysmal neurosis

[209—210] Sultan Muda!" But Sultan Mahmud Shah answered, "If the Sultan Muda has but the sword of kingship, he will have gold as well." That is to say, where there is sovereignty, there is gold.

For his royal daughter in her home in Haru he provided a company of young nobles, forty men and forty women. Some of them went leaving^{†765} wives behind; some of them went leaving fathers behind; some of them went as fathers leaving children behind. Sultan Husain then moved off downstream and Sultan Mahmud Shah accompanied his daughter as far as Dada Ayer, nor did he leave his vessel and return to the palace until the ship of Sultan Husain had sailed out of sight. After a voyage of some days Sultan Husain arrived at Haru where he disembarked and went with^{†766} his consort to see his mother, who embraced them both, in her joy that the parting was over. And she asked her son, "What did you see that impressed you, Sultan?" And Sultan Husain replied, "I saw many things that impressed me, but two stood out above all others." "And what were they?", asked the queen-mother. "In the first place", answered Sultan Husain, "if the Raja gave a banquet at which twenty or thirty dishfuls of food were served, with sixteen or seventeen men serving^{†767} them, was there any noise? Not a floorboard creaked and lo! and behold, there were the dishes! And dishes^{†768} mind you, that were four times the size of ours! Another thing—every plate, bowl and tray was of silver, gold or gold alloy!" And the mother of Sultan Husain listened with amazement to her son's description.

God knoweth the truth.

Chapter XXVIII

The visit of the Sultan of Pahang and other Rajas to Bentan. Sultan Mahmud marries his daughter Raja Hatijah to the Sultan of Pahang and appoints him to be ruler of Pahang. The Portuguese attack Bentan, the Malays are defeated and Sultan Mahmud has to take to the jungle. Tun Mahmud gets him away to Kampar where after reigning for five years he dies and is succeeded by Raja Ala'u'd-din, his son by Tun Fatimah. Raja Muzaffar, his brother (see end of chapter XVIII) is driven out and flees to Kang (?Klang), whence he is taken to Perak by a trader and proclaimed ruler with the title of Sultan Muzaffar Shah. Tun Mahmud, who had been made Sri Agar Raja for his services in getting Sultan Mahmud away to Kampar, is made Bendahara of Perak. (*Passages on pp. 210, 212, 213 and 215 will be found with considerable variations in chapter XXXIV of Shellabear*)

Here now is a story of how the Sultan of Pahang^{†769} (? with other Rajas) came to present himself before Sultan Mahmud Shah. And Sultan Mahmud Shah took him as his son-in-law, marrying him with his daughter Raja Hatijah, and had him at the same time proclaimed as Ruler to the beat of

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[210—211] the drum of sovereignty. After they had stayed awhile at Bentan, the Rajas took their leave of Sultan Mahmud Shah and returned, each to his country.

And word was brought to Sultan Mahmud Shah "an expedition from Goa is now at Malaka, consisting of thirty carracks, four galleasses, five long galleys, eight foysts and two brigantines and they are coming to attack us here." Sultan Mahmud Shah thereupon commanded the Bendahara to put the forts in order and assemble the forces: and he commanded the Sri Awadana, as Temenggong, to call out men to strengthen the outer fort. A list was to be made†⁷⁷⁰ of the duties to be performed by the slaves. The Sri Awadana†⁷⁷¹ made a list for himself, which ran as follows:—"Slaves of the Sri Awadana—(1) Tanda†⁷⁷², to perform executions and carry the lance (2) Selamat, to steer and carry the betel-case†⁷⁷³ (3) Tua, to paddle and carry the sword (4) Tëki (?), to accompany me and carry the water-bottle†⁷⁷⁴." This list he submitted to Sultan Mahmud Shah, who when he saw how it was worded was very angry and said, "If it should come to the turn of the Sri Awadana to be Bendahara, may†^{774a} God take our life!"

When the work on the outer fort was completed, Sang Stia volunteered for the defence of it, saying to Sultan Mahmud Shah, "I will die before the fort is taken! Let the Franks come, what matter? With these two cannon we will send their ships to the bottom!" Of the two cannon, which carried balls the size of oranges, one was called Dragon of the Waves and the other The Swimming Frog: to such were they likened. When the Franks were nearing Bentan, Sultan Mahmud Shah commanded Pateh Suradana to reconnoitre. He found the Franks at Layam, whereupon he paddled back with all speed. When asked what he had to report, he replied, "Their carracks are at Lubok, their "grabs"†⁷⁷⁵ at Tengkilu and their sloops are here, there and everywhere!"

When he reached Kopak, he told the Ruler of all that he had seen: and the Ruler forthwith commissioned†⁷⁷⁶ the Paduka Tuan saying, "The Franks are at Kuala Tebing Tinggi." The Sri Nara 'diraja then went aboard the Paduka Tuan's ship to confer with him. At that moment the Franks came up the river, in four galleys, and surrounded the ship of the Paduka Tuan, two of them on either side: and the rest of Frankish fleet followed, ship after ship. And the Paduka Tuan was asked what should be done, "for the Franks are approaching and in great strength." And the Paduka Tuan reflected, saying to himself, "If I attack now that I have the Sri Nara 'diraja on board, he is bound to get the credit, being such a favourite of the Ruler's!" So he called Hang Aji Maras who was in charge of the crew, and whispered something in his ear, whereupon Hang Aji Maras went to the bows

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[211—212] of the ship. The Sri Nara 'diraja now said to the Paduka Tuan, "Come, chief, let us attack the Franks!" The Paduka Tuan pretended to agree, but from the bows Hang Aji Maras called out, "We're aground†⁷⁷⁶ (?) !" To which the Paduka Tuan replied, "Shift back then!" Hang Aji Maras accordingly ordered his men to row upstream, and upstream they all went. The Franks advanced to the attack, but by now the tide had begun to ebb, so they tied up their galleys to the outer fort. As soon as the tide began to flow, they pulled†⁷⁷⁷ up the mooring stakes; and though their ships were hit by the fire from the land, they took no notice of it and attacked the fort of Sang Stia.

Then ensued a fierce battle, in which the number of those killed or wounded was very large: and Sang Stia appealed for help from the other side of the river, so persistently that Sultan Mahmud Shah commanded Tun Narawangsa to go to his assistance. Tun Narawangsa did obeisance and then set out; but the Paduka Tuan, perceiving that all who crossed over to Sang Stia's side of the river were either killed or had to swim back naked, said to Sultan Mahmud Shah, "Your Highness, I pray that my son-in-law may be excused this duty, for the enemy is formidable and if my son-in-law is lost, I shall be left with no one on whom to rely." Sultan Mahmud Shah accordingly recalled Tun Narawangsa, and Tun Narawangsa came back.

And the fighting waxed ever more fierce: Sang Stia was killed, the Laksamana was wounded and the men of Bentan broke and fled. But Sultan Mahmud Shah refused to leave the palace: his intention was "if the Franks come, I will fight them here." The Sri Nara 'diraja urged him to leave Bentan now that the city had fallen. But he replied, "When I came here, Sri Nara 'diraja, I knew full well that Bentan was an island; and it was because I was determined that there should be no retreating that I took up my abode here! If I had thought of retreating, I should have done better to stay on the mainland. (But I did not do that,) for it is the custom of Rajas that when their country falls to the foe, they die." And the Sri Nara 'diraja said, "Your Highness is mistaken†⁷⁷⁸. Every country has a Raja, and if your Highness is granted length of days, we can find ten countries for you!" But Sultan Mahmud Shah answered, "Say no more, Sri Nara 'diraja. Retreat from here I do not!" Thereupon the Sri Nara 'diraja seized the hand of Sultan Mahmud Shah and dragged him away from the palace. And Sultan Mahmud Shah cried, "Behold,†⁷⁷⁹, the Sri Nara 'diraja makes me a runaway!" "Yes, your Highness," answered the Sri Nara 'diraja, "and I have no compunction†^{779a} in doing so!" Then said Sultan Mahmud Shah, "But what of all the valuables and gold I am leaving behind? How shall I fare without them?" And the Sri Nara 'diraja replied, "Leave it to me, your Highness, to get them

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[212—213] away:" and turning to the Bendahara he said, "(? Come, let us) save the Ruler's possessions in the palace!" And the Bendahara agreed and forthwith he stopped the fugitives and ordered them to rescue the valuables and gold, assigning to each what he was to carry. And all the property was go away: not a thing was left behind.

The Franks then entered the city and began to loot it, while the populace scattered in all directions. Meanwhile Sultan Mahmud Shah was making his way through the forest. He was accompanied by many womenfolk, but the only man with him was the Sri Nara 'diraja who would not leave his side. And when they came to a certain place, they fell in with Tun Nara wangsa and his men searching for his wife. When the Sri Nara 'diraja saw him, he said, "So there you are, Mahmud†⁷⁸⁰! Where are you going?" and Tun Narawangsa answered, "I am going to find my wife." Then said the Sri Nara 'diraja, "Come with me, for the Ruler is here," And Tun Narawangsa answered, "The Ruler we have with us; well and good. But if my wife falls into the hands of the Franks, is that good?" "You talk like that", replied the Sri Nara 'diraja, "because it is the custom of us Malays to want children and wives. But can they ever rank with our masters? The more so in this case because who was it that put our father to death? Was it not this Raja here? Now is our chance to return good for evil! Moreover am I not your brother? Have you the heart to abandon me?" When he heard these words Tun Nara Wangsa came back and accompanied Sultan Mahmud Shah through the forest, slipping and slithering as he was and making no progress because he had not the strength†⁷⁸¹. It was not until they had put cloth round round the soles of his feet that he was able to advance. Presently Sultan Mahmud Shah said to the Sri Nara 'diraja, "I have had no food since the morning." When the Sri Nara 'diraja heard these words, he bade Tun Narawangsa go and seek rice for the Ruler to eat. Tun Narawangsa set off and ere long he met a woman carrying cooked rice in a basket. "Give me a little rice, lady", said Tun Narawangsa, and when the woman bade him take some, he took several *balek adap** leaves and put rice on them. These he bore forthwith to Sultan Mahmud Shah, who ate the rice.

And when he had eaten, Sultan Mahmud Shah said, "What think you should be done, Sri Nara 'diraja? I haven't a penny†⁷⁸² And the Sri Nara 'diraja bade Tun Nara Wangsa go and obtain some money for the Ruler. Tun Narawangsa set out accordingly and presently he saw a man carrying a coffer†⁷⁸³ (?) of two catties' weight. He snatched†⁷⁸⁴ it out of the man's hands

**Mussanda* sp.

[213—214] and ran away with it. The man cried out “Here’s Tun Narawangsa committing highway robbery;”, but Tun Narawangsa took no notice, put a cloth over the coffer and took it to Sultan Mahmud Shah who said, “It’s not much but it will do!” They then went on their way until they reached Dempok (?). The Bendahara was following Sultan Mahmud Shah, while the Paduka Tuan with his family went behind Bentan and thence to Sayong. And the Paduka Tuan said to his son, Tun Pekerma, “Go and collect all the people living on the coast, and we will then go and fetch†⁷⁸⁵ the Ruler.” Tun Pekerma went accordingly and called the coast tribesmen who thereupon assembled.

Meanwhile Tun Mahmud, a son of the Paduka Tuan, who had come from Selangor†^{785a} with a fleet of twenty sail, met Tun Pekerma at Buru. And Tun Pekerma said to Tun Mahmud, “Let us go and fetch the Ruler.” Tun Mahmud agreed and together they went to join Sultan Mahmud Shah at Dempok. [It was by this time just fifteen days since the Franks had retired] And when they fell in with Sultan Mahmud Shah, he was delighted to see Tun Mahmud and he went aboard the ship Tun Pekerma had brought for him. He then said to the Bendahara, “What think you should be done now, Bendahara? Whither shall we go?” And the Bendahara answered, “I remember my father†⁷⁸⁶ saying that if any evil should befall the state, the Raja should be taken to Kampar.” “Then let us go to Kampar,” said Sultan Mahmud Shah, and he proceeded forthwith to Kampar, where he took up his abode. Wishing to confer a title upon Tun Mahmud for his services in coming so speedily to his assistance Sultan Mahmud Shah bade the Bendahara make his choice between these titles for Tun Mahmud—Tun Talani†⁷⁸⁸ (? Telanai), Tun Bijaya Mahamentri, Tun Aria Bija ‘diraja and Sri Nara†⁷⁸⁹ (? Sura) ‘diraja. And the Bendahara answered, “The title ‘Tun Telanai’, traditional though it may be, is a title of the backwoods†⁷⁹⁰. ‘Tun Bijaya Mahamentri’ is admittedly a minister’s title but it is inappropriate for Tun Mahmud. As for ‘Tun Aria Bija ‘diraja’, although it is the title†^{790a} of his father-in-law, yet it is a Hujong Karang title. ‘Sri Sura ‘diraja’ is an important title but it is too much of an old man’s title. As Tun Mahmud came so speedily†^{790b} to your Highness let him have the title ‘Sri Agar Raja.’” The king accordingly conferred upon Tun Mahmud the title of Sri Agar Raja. And the Paduka Tuan, the chiefs and the officers of state all then came to present themselves before Sultan Mahmud Shah.

When the news reached Haru that Bentan had fallen, Sultan Husain came to Kampar to see Sultan Mahmud Shah, who was well pleased that he should come. Sultan Husain was accompanied by Raja Pahlawan†⁷⁹¹, his chief minister. [Raja

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[214—215] Pahlawan was Raja of Sri.....(?) and was a prince of high standing in Haru. It was the custom†⁷⁹² in Haru that at banquets the chiefs had precedence as regards food, while the men of valour had precedence as regards drink (?). Raja Pahlawan had precedence in both respects, for he was not only a chief but a man of valour as well]

After Sultan Husain had stayed for a while at Kampar, he sought leave to depart and returned to Haru. And after some time the Bendahara returned to the Mercy of God and was buried at Tambak. It is he who after his death was known as Bendahara Tambak. And the Paduka Tuan†⁷⁹³ was made Bendahara.

The Sri Awadana too had died, and it was Tun Nara-wangsa who became Temenggong. One day Sultan Mahmud Shah said to the Sri Nara 'diraja, "Your services to me, Sri Nara 'diraja, have been such that I can never requite them. But if you would like to marry one of my daughters, I will gladly take you as my son-in-law." But the Sri Nara 'diraja answered, "I ask to be excused, your Highness, for I am but a slave and your Highness's daughter is my master." And Sultan Mahmud Shah said, "Why do you talk thus, Sri Nara 'diraja? Unless I thought the marriage fitting, would I have you for son-in-law?" And the Sri Nara 'diraja answered "That is very true, your Highness. But all mankind is sprung from the Prophet Adam (on him be peace). There is none of other stock: yet some are born in Islam, some as unbelievers: such distinctions are characteristic of all mankind. Seeing that all my forebears in bygone days were slaves of the Rajas of those times, the good name of Malays of those days would be impaired if†^{793a} I should now marry your Highness's daughter." Then said Sultan Mahmud Shah, "If you refuse to do what I wish you to do, you will be guilty of disloyalty to me!"

And the Sri Nara 'diraja answered, "Your Highness is my liege lord! Heap curses upon me if you will, but never let me lose my good name or be disloyal to you!" Then said Sultan Mahmud Shah, "Does that mean that you are in earnest in your refusal, Sri Nara 'diraja? If that were so, I would find another husband for my daughter." And the Sri Nara 'diraja replied, "That is just what I would prefer, your Highness, that your daughter be married to another." Sultan Mahmud Shah accordingly gave his daughter in marriage to a son of the Raja of Pahang, who was a prince of ancient lineage.

Some while after this Sultan Mahmud Shah fell sick, and he sent for Bendahara Paduka Tuan, the Sri Nara 'diraja and several of the chiefs. Then, leaning on the shoulder of the

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[215—216] Sri Nara 'diraja so that his forehead rested on the forehead of the Sri Nara 'diraja, he said, "I feel that this sickness which has come upon me is the sickness of death. To your care I commit the Sultan Muda, for he is yet but a child." Then answered the Bendahara and the chiefs, "Your Highness, may God avert all evil from your Highness! But if the grass in your Highness's garden should wither, be sure that we will faithfully carry out your Highness' bidding." And Sultan Mahmud Shah was well pleased to hear the words of his chiefs. And ere long he returned to the presence of Almighty God, departing from this perishable world to one that abideth: and he was buried with all the ceremony decreed by custom on the death†⁷⁹⁴ of Rajas: and he was known after his death as 'He who found God's Mercy at Kampar'. He had reigned thirty years in Malaka and when Malaka fell to the enemy he went from Muar to Pahang where he reigned for a year. He then reigned in Bentan for twelve years and in Kampar for five years. He was thus on the throne for forty-eight years in all.

On the death of 'Him who found God's Mercy at Kampar' the Sultan Muda came to the throne, with the title of Sultani Ala'u'd-din Ri'ayat Shah. Thereupon the Raja Muda†⁷⁹⁵ was ordered by the Bendahara and the chiefs to depart. And when he said, "Wherefore am I being driven away? Is it conceivable that I should try and wrest the throne from the Sultan Muda?", the chiefs merely replied, "Begone†⁷⁹⁶ from this country, Raja Muda!" And he said, "Wait a while, my rice is still in the kitchen cooking!" But the chiefs answered, "We wait for nothing. Leave the palace forthwith!" The Raja Muda accordingly left the palace with his wife, Tun†^{796a} Trang, and a son of his named Raja Mansur: and said, "Tell Enche' Lēman†⁷⁹⁷ (?) that if I should die, I look to her to guard the interests†⁷⁹⁸ of (my son) Mansur Shah." This the chiefs agreed to do, and the Raja Muda then took passage in a merchantman and†^{798a} went to Siak. From Siak he went to Kang (? Klang). Now there was a man†⁷⁹⁹ from Manjong, Tumi by name, who traded regularly between Perak and Klang. When he saw the Raja Muda at Klang he took him to Perak and had him installed as Raja with the title of Sultan Muzaffar Shah.

Now the Sri Agar Raja†^{799a} who had been sent by Bendahara Paduka Tuan to live in Selangor, was as it were Raja of Selangor. It happened that the Sultan of Kedah had a daughter and the Sri Agar 'diraja went to Kedah and married her: he then brought her to Selangor. And Sultan Muzaffar Shah sent messengers to fetch the Sri Agar 'diraja from Selangor. And the Sri Agar 'diraja came to Perak where he was made Bendahara by Sultan Muzaffar Shah. Sultan Muzaffar Shah then had (after Mansur Shah) a daughter named Raja Dewi. She was followed by a son, Raja Ahmad, another son, Raja

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[216—217] Abdu'l-Jalil, and daughters named Raja Fatimah, Raja Hatijah and Raja Tengah. In all Sultan Muzaffar Shah had sixteen children by Tun Trang. He also had a son named Raja Muhammad by a secondary wife.

Chapter XXIX.

Sultan Ala'u'd-din on succeeding Sultan Mahmud goes to to Pahang and marries the Sultan of Pahang's sister. The wording of the letters sent to Siam. On his return to Ujong Tanah, where by this time he has established himself, Sultan Ala'ud-din is furious to hear that the Sri Agar Raja has been made Bendahara of Perak and sends for him. The Adipati of Kampar brings tribute to Ujong Tanah and is shrewdly reminded that the traditional etiquette for the presentation of it still exists. Sultan Ala'u-din for no specified reason orders an attack on Merbedang, which is successfully carried out by Tun Pekerma.

(Not in Shellabear)

Here now is a story of Sultan Ala'u'd-din Ri'ayat Shah. After he had come to the throne, he proposed to marry a Pahang wife: and he commanded Bendahara Paduka Tuan to have ships made ready. When this was done, he set forth for Pahang, where he arrived in due course. And when the Raja of Pahang, who at that time was Sultan Mahmud†⁸⁰⁰ Shah, heard of the coming of Sultan Ala'u'd-din Ri'ayat Shah, he went out to welcome him. And when the two Sultans met, Sultan Mahmud did obeisance to Sultan Ala'u'd-din Shah, took him into the city, seated him upon the royal throne and entertained him.

When the propitious moment arrived, the wedding took place of Sultan Ala'u'd-din Ri'ayat Shah with the sister of Sultan Mahmud Shah. Later on, when the time came for the Raja of Pahang to send the gold and silver flowers†⁸⁰¹ to Siam, he began making arrangements to send an envoy with them and ordered ships to be made ready. When they were ready Sultan Mahmud ordered letters to be composed for sending to the Raja of Siam and to his Foreign†⁸⁰² Minister. Now it was customary in letters from Pahang to the Foreign Minister of Siam to use the word 'obeisance'. It happened that when the letters were being composed for this occasion Bendahara Paduka Tuan was present, and Sultan Mahmud asked him whether Sultan Ala'u'd-din sent 'obeisance' to the Foreign Minister of Siam. And Bendahara Paduka Tuan answered, "So far from his Highness sending 'obeisance' to him, even I myself would not do so!" And Tun Derahman†⁸⁰³ said, "Now that the men of Pahang are sending a letter to the Foreign Minister, (are you not sending one,) Datok?" And Bendahara Paduka Tuan replied, "I would send one but I have no present to send with it." And when Sultan Mahmud offered to provide the present, the Bendahara accepted the offer and proceeded to write a letter to the Foreign Minister which began

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as follows:—"A letter of friendship from the Bendahara to His Honour the Foreign Minister", after which followed other matters. Sultan Mahmud then altered the wording of his letter, sending 'friendship' as had the Bendahara. When the letters were ready, the envoy departed for Siam. When the Foreign Minister of Siam was informed of the arrival of an envoy bearing letters from the Raja of Pahang and the Bendahara of Ujong Tanah, he inquired how the letters were worded†^{803a}. When the envoy answered that the letter from the Bendahara was described as a 'letter of friendship, as was that from the Raja of Pahang, the Foreign Minister said, "Let the letter from the Bendahara of Ujong Tanah be admitted, but tell the envoy to take back the letter from the Raja of Pahang, for it is not customary for the Raja of Pahang to send 'friendship' to the Foreign Minister of Siam." And the envoy answered, "How comes it that the letter from the Bendahara of Ujong Tanah is accepted? For the Raja of Pahang ranks with the Bendahara as master with servant!" To which the Foreign Minister rejoined "How things are done there how should we know? Here it is established that the Bendahara of Ujong Tanah ranks higher than the Raja of Pahang. If you do not believe me, see for yourself in the Record of Precedence†⁸⁰⁴. Order the letter from the Raja of Pahang to be altered or I will not accept it" A fresh copy copy of the letter was therefore made by the envoy, in which 'obeisance' was substituted for 'friendship', and the letter was accepted by the Foreign Minister. The envoy then departed for Pahang and on his arrival there he related to Sultan Mahmud all that had taken place.

After Sultan Ala'u'd-din Ri'ayat Shah had stayed for some time in Pahang, he departed for Hujung Tanah†⁸⁰⁵. On his arrival there Sultan Ala'u'd-din Ri'ayat Shah took up his abode at Pekan Tua and built an outerfort in the upper reaches of the Telor river. And when news reached Hujung Tanah of the appointment of the Sri Agar 'diraja to be Bendahara in Perak, Sultan Ala'u'd-din Ri'ayat Shah was very angry: and when Bendahara Paduka Tuan heard the news, he threw off his headcloth, saying, "I wear no headcloth until I have brought the Sri Agar Raja before the Ruler!" He then went to the palace wearing creese and jacket but no headcloth and said, "Your Highness, I seek your leave—to go to Perak and call the Sri Agar Raja." And Sultan Ala'u'd-din Ri'ayat Shah replied, "I would not have you go, Bendahara. I will send Tun Narawangsa." And turning to Tun Narawangsa he asked whether he was willing to be sent to Perak. And Tun Narawangsa answered, "If your Highness sends me to conquer Perak, I will go; but if it is to call the Sri Agar Raja I ask to be excused, for the Raja Perempuan of Perak is my†⁸⁰⁶ niece; with her I am but a servant!" Then said the Sultan, "In that case, it shall be Tun Pekerma to go to

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[218—219] Perak and call the Sri Agar 'diraja.' And Tun Pekerma said, "Very well, your Highness," and proceeded to make ready ships.

When they were ready, he set out for Perak, where he arrived after a voyage of some days and went up the river as far as Labohan Jong. When news reached Perak that Tun Pekerma was come to call Bendahara Sri Agar 'diraja, the Bendahara ordered that rice be sent to Tun Pekerma in the pot†^{806a} in which it was cooked, together with curry in a bamboo. When this reached Tun Pekerma he was so much enraged by the way he had been treated that he departed there and then for Hujung Tanah. On his arrival there he went to the palace and presented himself before Sultan Ala'u'd-din Ri'ayat Shah who was giving an audience. Tun Pekerma did obeisance and took his seat. He then related to Sultan Ala'u'd-din Ri'ayat Shah what had taken place in Perak. When Bendahara Paduka Tuan heard the story, he said, "Your Highness, if any other than I is sent to Perak, the Sri Agar Raja will not come. Let me go to Perak. Once I am there I will seize him by the hand and lead him to my ship. If he refuses to come with me, I will draw my creese and stab him! If he falls to the left, I fall to the right!"†⁸⁰⁷ And Sultan Ala'u'd-din Ri'ayat Shah replied, "Very well then, as you†⁸⁰⁸ please. Bendahara." The Bendahara then set out for Perak.

When he reached Perak, orders were given by Sultan Muzaffar Shah for him to be welcome. And when he was come into the palace, the king took him into the innermost apartments and the royal rice was served. Then said Sultan Muzaffar Shah, "Come let us eat." But the Bendahara answered, "I beg to be excused, your Highness: for your Highness is the son of him who was my master. Fall to, your Highness, and let me be given other†⁸⁰⁹ food." And Sultan Muzaffar Shah said, "Why do you (? speak†^{809a}) thus, Bendahara? Unless I thought†⁸¹⁰ you entitled to eat with me, would I have asked you to?" And Bendahara Paduka Raja replied, "I am entitled to eat with your Highness, and that is precisely why I do not wish to. Those who are not entitled to eat with princes hanker after doing so, that they may gain prestige thereby. For me however there would be no such acquired prestige†⁸¹¹, for I am already entitled to eat with your Highness. But I ask to be excused because your Highness is the son of him who was my master. Eat, your Highness, and let me feed elsewhere." But Sultan Muzaffar Shah said, "Come, Bendahara, eat with me all the same, for we have long been parted and I have sorely missed you." And the Bendahara answered, "Why is it that your Highness persists in asking me to eat with your Highness? I can see that your Highness thinks†⁸¹² 'if I have the Bendahara to dine with me, I shall have his†^{812a} allegiance'. But let no such thought

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[219—220] cross†⁸¹³ your Highness's mind! As long as Sultan Ala'u'd-din Ri'ayat Shah is ruler in Hujung Tanah for me another master—no!" "What strange†⁸¹⁴ things you say, Bendahara", said Sultan Muzaffar Shah, and laying hold of the Bendahara's hand he put it to the rice, saying, "Let us hear no more, Bendahara, but come, let us eat!" The Bendahara accordingly took some rice and put it on a sireh leaf. Then he said, "Eat, your Highness." And when Sultan Muzaffar Shah ate, Bendahara Paduka Tuan also ate: and when he had finished†⁸¹⁵ the rice on the sireh leaf, he put some more on it but he took no more meat.

When the king had eaten, Bendahara Paduka Tuan took his leave and departed to the house of the Sri Agar Raja. The Sri Agar Raja hastened to meet him and the Bendahara seized his hand and took him to his ship. He then went down the river taking the Sri Agar Raja with him and returned to Hujung Tanah. And Sultan Ala'u'd-din was well pleased that the Bendahara had brought the Sri Agar Raja.

Ere long the Adipati of Kampar came to pay tribute as was customary: and he went to the Sri Nara 'diraja, for the custom was that whenever the Adipati of Kampar, the Raja of Tungkal, the Mandulika†⁸¹⁶ of Klang or other administrators of territory that paid revenue came to present the revenue they had collected, they went first to the Treasurer and it was he†^{816a} who took them to the palace. The Adipati of Kampar accordingly went to the Sri Nara 'diraja because he was the Treasurer. But it happened that the Sri Nara 'diraja was ill, so he said to the Adipati of Kampar, "Go to the palace along with Sang Bijaya Ratna to present yourself before the Ruler, for I am not yet recovered from my sickness." So the Adipati of Kampar went to the palace with Sang Bijaya Ratna (for he was Harbour Master of Kampar) to present the tribute. Sultan Ala'u'd-din Ri'ayat Shah was giving an audience at which all the chiefs were present, and when he saw the Adipati of Kampar approaching with the tribute, he said, "Where is the Sri Nara 'diraja that the Adipati of Kampar and Sang Bijaya Ratna are presenting themselves unaccompanied like this?" And the Adipati of Kampar and Sang Bijaya Ratna answered, "Your Highness, the Sri Nara 'diraja is not yet recovered from his sickness, that is why he is not presenting himself. It is by his direction that we are come thus before your Highness." And Sultan Ala'u'd-din Ri'ayat Shah said, "Take away what†⁸¹⁷ you are come to present to me! If the Sri Nara 'diraja is still sick, why could you not wait†⁸¹⁸? Merely to gratify your desire to talk with us you have ignored†⁸¹⁹ the custom of this court"

The Adipati of Kampar and Sang Bijaya Ratna accordingly took to the Sri Nara 'diraja what they had brought to offer to the Ruler, and they told him what had happened. And he said,

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"That being the case, let us go together to the palace." He set off accordingly, taking with him the tribute of the Adipati of Kampar. When he was come into the palace the Sri Nara 'diraja said, "Your Highness, the reason that I did not appear just now is that I was sick. It was on my direction that they came here without me to accompany them." And Sultan Ala'u'd-din Ri'ayat Shah answered, "It is no great matter, but what they did was not in accordance with the custom. If people come into the palace without your accompanying them, a blow is struck at the custom of this court!" The tribute was then delivered to the Bendahara by each Raja for the territory he administered.

Not long after that Sultan Ala'u'd-din Ri'ayat Shah sent Tun Pekerma to attack Merbedang. Tun Pekerma set out with a fleet of sixty ships, and when he reached Merbedang, there was fighting for several days, at the end of which Merbedang was defeated and considerable booty was taken. Tun Pekerma then returned victorious to Hujung Tanah and went up river to Pekan Tua to present himself before Sultan Ala'u'd-din Ri'ayat Shah, who was well pleased and bountifully rewarded Tun Pekerma.

God knoweth the truth.

Chapter XXX

The attempted revolution of the Malays in Malacca under Sang Naya against the Portuguese. Sang Naya is executed by the Portuguese and Sultan Ala'u'd-din executes the Portuguese envoy sent to inform him of Sang Naya's death. The Portuguese forthwith attack Ujong Tanah, the Malays are defeated and Sultan Ala'u'd-din sues for a truce. (Not in Shellabear)

Here now is the story of Sang Naya, who had long been living in Malaka and had a Malaka wife—for in ancient times there were many Malays (there ?). Sang Naya conspired with the Malays living in Malaka to attack the Franks when they went into the church; for in ancient times whenever the Franks went into a church, they carried no weapons. And all those who were in the conspiracy with Sang Naya handed over their creeses to him and he hid them in his Bandan†⁸²⁰ chest.

One day one of the Franks came to the house of Sang Naya and asked for sireh. Sang Naya pushed the Bandan chest towards him and the Frank took sireh: after he had had his sireh, he opened the lid†⁸²¹ of the chest and beheld a large number of creeses in it. The Frank forthwith reported the matter to the Commander, saying, "Señor, Sang Naya has a large number of creeses concealed in a chest. What might be his object?" The Commander ordered Sang Naya to be sent for. When Sang Naya

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[221—222] appeared, the Commander ordered his creese to be taken from his waist and said to him, “Wherefore did you conceal many creeses in your chest. Sang Naya?” And Sang Naya replied, “Beacause I was going to kill you all!” When the Commander heard this, he took Sang Naya to the top of the fort and pushed him over the parapet. Sang Naya fell upright, then collapsed and died.

The Franks then sent an envoy to Pekan Tua to report that Sang Naya had died because he was intending to run amuck†^{821a} in Malaka. Sultan Ala’u’d-din Ri’ayat Shah thereupon ordered the Frankish envoy to be arrested, hoisted to the top of a high tree and dropped to the ground. (This was done and) the Frank was killed. When the news reached Malaka that the Frankish envoy had been put to death by Sultan Ala’u’d-din Ri’ayat Shah, the Commander was highly enraged and gave orders for ships to be made ready for an attack, the fleet to consist of three galeasses, two long galleys, ten foysts and twenty-five brigantines. As soon as they were ready, the expedition set out for Hujung Tanah. When news of this reached Sultan Ala’u’d-din Ri’ayat Shah, he ordered the outer fort to be manned, under the command of Tun Narawangsa and Tun Pekerma. They accordingly went and put the fort in good order, and they disposed the twelve cannon, of which the balls†⁸²² were shaped like limes and were the size of oranges. And when the Franks arrived, they brought their galeasses up the river until they were abreast of the outer fort, whereupon both sides fired at each other continuously and the din was terrific. The Franks failed however to carry the fort, so they landed and made a fort on the point of the river bend. Here they landed a number of cannon and opened fire, and the sound of the cannon fire was like a continuous peal of thunder.

And the Laksamana came to see Tun Narawangsa and Tun Pekerma, for at that time he was in disgrace†⁸²³ at court and held no office. He was wearing a green jacket, black sarong and black headcloth, and he said to Tun Narawangsa, “It is because you are here that I am come hither.” And Tun Narawangsa gave him a suit of clothes. And the Laksamana said to him, “Three years have I been under the Ruler’s displeasure and have never had a new suit of clothes, it is only now that I have one.” Meanwhile the Franks kept up their cannonade and cannon balls fell like heavy rain, causing unbearable affliction to the victims: some had their arms shot away, some their legs, some their heads: and the outer fort became no longer tenable. And Tun Pekerma said to Narawangsa, “What is to be done? Let us fell this big *kēmpas** tree and make a barricade of it to enable us to hold our ground.” Tun Narawangsa answered, “If we fell this *kēmpas*, it will fall towards the land and how then shall we be able to get it? If it falls towards the sea, we can get it.” Then

* *Coompassia malaccensis*

[222—223] said the Laksamana, "Give me a bow†⁸²⁴." He then secured some fine fishing line, to the notch on the arrow and he shot the arrow at the *kēmpas* tree so that the line would itself round the upper†⁸²⁵ part of the tree. Then to the fishing line was fastened a piece of tow†⁸²⁶-rope which was then drawn upward and to that was fastened some fine braid (?). As it†⁸²⁷ would now fall towards the river, orders were given for the tree to be felled. It fell towards the river and was then cut into three portions and made into a barricade. So thick was the trunk of the *kēmpas* that men could stand behind it, though elsewhere not a soul could stand. For three days and three nights the Franks bombarded the fort without ceasing, and men were killed in numbers beyond counting.

Meanwhile as for Bendahara Paduka Tuan, the Sri Nara 'diraja and Sultan Ala'u'd-din Ri'ayat Shah... the Bendahara said to Sultan Ala'u'd-din Ri'ayat Shah, "Your Highness, I ask to be allowed to go down stream and see how it goes with the fighting men." He then went down to the outer fort and perceiving how heavy was the fighting he thought to himself "This fort will fall, but if it does, Tun Narawangsa and Tun Pekerma will be killed." He accordingly returned upstream with all speed and reported to Sultan Ala'u'd-din Ri'ayat Shah, "Your Highness, it looks to me as though the fort will fall, in which case your servants Tun Narawangsa and Tun Pekerma are bound to be killed. It will be hard for your Highness to find such faithful servants as they, and I suggest that they be recalled." Sultan Ala'u'd-din Ri'ayat Shah then sent Hang Alamat to call Tun Narawangsa and Tun Pekerma back. Hang Alamat set off and when he reached the outer fort, he said to Tun Narawangsa and Tun Pekerma, "Chiefs, you are summoned." When the others heard this, there was the sound of scurrying feet as they fled, heedless of any attempt to stop them. And Tun Narawangsa said to Tun Pekerma, "What are we to do? The weapons of the Raja are many and if we go upstream, they will be lost." And Tun Pekerma answered, "Let us pitch them into the river." So the weapons and the cannon were thrown into the river and Tun Narawangsa and Tun Pekerma went upstream and presented themselves before Sultan Ala'u'd-din Ri'ayat Shah. And Bendahara Paduka Tuan said, "Your Highness had better proceed to Sayong." And Sultan Ala'u'd-din Ri'ayat Shah replied, "What of my *medang serai** vessel with its tortoiseshell bamboo wainscoting? Alas that it should be taken by the Franks!"†⁸²⁸ But Tun Narawangsa said, "Let your Highness start forthwith: I will get the ship away." The king therefore went up the river to Sayong, as did Bendahara Paduka Tuan and all the chiefs, pursued by the Franks. And Tun Narawangsa put a crew of twenty tribesmen†⁸²⁹

**Pentace triptera*

[223—224] and at the same time he ordered twenty men with adzes to wait above†^{829a} Batu Belah. Tun Narawangsa then went up the river with the king's ship, hotly pursued by the Franks. When they had passed Batu Belah, trees were felled and a boom laid across the river: whence†⁸³⁰ the place is known as the Place of the Boom†^{830a}. The Franks went up as far as Pekan Tua with two galeasses.

Sultan Ala'u'd-din Ri'ayat Shah then gave orders for a letter to be taken to the commander of the Franks; but whoever was sent with the letter always came back, having failed to get through because of the heavy fire from the galeasses. Tun 'Ali, son of the Laksamana, was then ordered to take the letter. And when he was seen approaching by the Franks in the galeasses they turned their guns on him so that the bullets fell like rain, and the crew of Tun 'Ali's boat said to him, "Let us go back, sir, the fire of the enemy is too heavy!" But Tun Amat 'Ali answered, "Turn back? Never†⁸³¹! What would be my reputation as the Laksamana's son if I was given a letter to take and failed to get through with it? Paddle on and get me there!" The crew accordingly paddled on but the fire from the Franks never slackened and the crew leapt overboard†⁸³² leaving Tun Amat 'Ali standing alone in the boat. Then, amid cannon balls falling like rain, the boat of Tun Amat 'Ali drifted and finally ran aground in front of the Franks. Their commander ordered a rope of flowered cloth to be lowered and he brought Tun Amat 'Ali aboard his ship, seated him on a carpet and treated him with every mark of distinction. He then sent a messenger to Malaka with the letter that Tun Amat 'Ali had brought. When the letter reached Malaka, the Commander ordered it to be duly borne in procession and read in his presence. When it had been translated to him, the Commander of Malaka sent word to the commander in the field bidding him accept the offer of a truce. When Tun Amat 'Ali reached Pekan Tua on his return journey, he was given by the Frankish commander robes of honour as befitted his rank and was told to return to Sayong with a letter of truce. On reaching Sayong he presented himself before Sultan Ala'u'd-din Ri'ayat Shah to whom he related all that had happened. And Sultan Ala'u'd-din Ri'ayat Shah was well pleased and gave Tun Amat 'Ali robes of honour. Thereafter there was a truce with the Franks and they returned to Malaka.

Some time after this the Sri Nara 'diraja returned to the Mercy of God and was buried, with the ceremony customary for the burial of a chief, at Sayong: it was he who was known thereafter as the Chief with the Big Gravestone. Tun Narawangsa was then made Treasurer, Tun Pekerma became Temenggong and Tun Amat 'Ali, son of Temenggong Hasan, was made Chief Herald. This Tun Amat 'Ali was exceedingly well-

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[224—225] built and handsome: no one of that time could rival him in anything that he did.

God alone knoweth the truth. To Him do we return

Chapter XXXI

The incident of Pateh Ludang, who was brought to Ujong Tanah by the Sultan-designate of Pahang and was promptly murdered by Sultan Ala'u'd-din's chief Sang Stia, as the result of an old feud. Sultan Muzaffar Shah (as he had become) pardons Sang Stia when sent to him bound on Sultan Ala'u'd-din's orders, and mollified by being allowed to take Pateh Ludang's Sakai back with him returns to Pahang. (Not in Shellabear)

Here now is the story of a Singapore headman, named Pateh Adang (? Ludang). He had offended Sang Stia and Sang Stia would have killed him had not Pateh Ludang fled to Pahang with his tribesmen, just at the time when Sultan Muhammad Shah, the Raja of Pahang, had died and been succeeded on the throne by his brother, Raja Jainad. Raja Jainad proposed to go to Hujung Tanah to present himself before the Ruler and he had ships made ready accordingly. He took Ludang (and his men) with him to paddle the royal barge, thinking that if he took them for that purpose the Ruler would give them to him. When he reached Hujung Tanah, he went up the river to Sayong and Sultan Ala'u'd-din Ri'ayat Shah gave orders for him to be welcomed. Raja Jainad then presented himself with the greatest respect before the Ruler, who gave to him the title of Sultan Muzaffar Shah. And Sang Stia sent for Pateh Ludang, who obeyed the summons thinking, "Sang Stia will not put me to death now that I am in Sultan Muzaffar Shah's royal barge." When however Pateh Ludang came to Sang Stia, Sang Stia killed him. On hearing that Pateh Ludang had met his death at the hand of Sang Stia Sultan Muzaffar Shah was very angry and said, "There's a vile deed†^{823a} if ever there was one! I thought that in coming here to present myself I was doing my duty, but it looks as though my coming was not to the liking of the Ruler's officers! Was it right that Pateh Ludang should have been taken off my barge and put to death by Sang Stia? Whatever they might have wanted to do, could they not have waited a day or two?" When Sultan Ala'u'd-din Ri'ayat Shah came to hear that Sang Stia had killed Pateh Ludang after summoning him from the barge of Sultan Muzaffar Shah and that Sultan Muzaffar Shah was so angry that he proposed to return to Pahang, he said to the Laksamana, "Go, Laksamana, and bind Sang Stia and take him to my brother."

The Laksamana went forthwith to the house of Sang Stia to do as he was bidden. But when Sang Stia heard that the Laksamana was coming with orders to bind him, he ordered that the gate of his fence should be closed. When the Lak-

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[224—225] samana arrived and asked that the gate be opened as he had been sent by the Ruler, Sang Stia said, "If, Laksamana, you had been sent by the Ruler to me to kill me, I would have allowed you to enter: but if it is to bind me, I will not allow you to enter. The Ruler's command I obey, but you, Laksamana, I will resist, for never was it heard that one†⁸³⁴ war chief bound another!" And the Laksamana answered, "I have been sent here, brother, not to quarrel with you but only to bind you. If you consent, I will bind you. If you refuse, I will return and inform the Sultan." And Sang Stia replied, "If you try to bind me, Laksamana, I will certainly object, for if you are a war-chief of high, so am I." The Laksamana then went back and presented himself before Sultan Ala'u'd-din Ri'ayat Shah, to whom he related what Sang Stia had said.

When Sultan Ala'u'd-din Ri'ayat Shah heard the Laksamana's story, he was very angry and said to the Bendahara, "Bind Sang Stia." The Bendahara answered, "Very well, your Highness" and went to the house of Sang Stia. And when Sang Stia heard of the coming of the Bendahara, he hastened from his house to meet him, and he did obeisance to him, saying, "For you, Bendahara, to bind me is but right and proper, for you are set in authority over me. Even your page-boy would have the right to do it, let alone yourself! But the Laksamana—no, I will not have that!" The Bendahara then took Sang Stia before Sultan Ala'u'd-din Ri'ayat Shah, who said, "Take him, Bendahara, to my brother." And the Bendahara answered, "Very well, your Highness." The Laksamana and the war chiefs were commanded to accompany the Bendahara, and the Bendahara ordered that Sang Stia be bound with a headcloth. And Sang Stia said to Sang Jaya Pekerma, "Bind me loosely and let Sang Guna stand close by me: and you brother, edge your creese towards me. If†⁸³⁵ the Pahang people begin†⁸³⁶ to look nasty, give me a wink. I own but one master and that is our Ruler. As though any other Raja should be my master!"

The Bendahara then led Sang Stia away. And when they were come to Sultan Muzaffar Shah, Sang Stia stood in the court-yard with the war-chiefs while the Bendahara went into the house to communicate to Sultan Muzaffar Shah the message from Sultan Ala'u'd-din, and he said, "Greetings from your Highness's younger brother." He sends Sang Stia for whatever it may be your Highness's pleasure to do with him because he killed†⁸³⁷ your Highness's officer." Sultan Muzaffar Shah refused to look up and said not a word, so great was his anger. Then the Bendahara ordered Sang Stia's bonds to be loosed, and this was done. The Bendahara then told Sang Stia to go into the house and do homage to Sultan Mazaffar Shah. Sang Stia accordingly went in and did

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[225] homage. He then sat down, as did the other war-chiefs. Then said the Bendahara to Sultan Muzaffar Shah, "Why does your Highness keep silence? When your Highness's younger brother†⁸³⁸ ordered Sang Stia to be bound and me to bring him to you, was that right? Again, your Highness, seeing that Sang Stia was a war-chief subject to your Highness's younger brother according to law, when your Highness heard that I was coming hither with Sang Stia, would it not have been better, while I was still some distance away, if your Highness had hastened out to meet us and ordered Sang Stia's bonds to be loosed? If I had not ordered his release your Highness would not have ordered it—would that have been right? Henceforward may there be nothing more like that!"

And Sultan Muzaffar Shah answered, "I am the servant of the Ruler, and no servant†⁸³⁹ ever disobeys the will of his master, even if he has to suffer thereby: by how much the less should he disobey a master who loads him with benefits!" And the Bendahara said, "That is indeed the truth. Never again let the mouth say one thing and the heart feel another!" Then the Bendahara turned to Sang Stia and said, "Hereafter let there be no more of this conduct, for is the Sultan of Pahang or the Sultan of Perak different from our Ruler? All of them are our masters—when all is well: in time of trouble the Ruler alone is our master." Then said Bendahara Paduka Tuan to Sultan Muzaffar Shah, "I am going back. What message has your Highness for your Highness's younger brother?" And Sultan Muzaffar Shah replied, "Say that I do obeisance to him and am the recipient of his bounty. But if of his grace he will grant me this boon, I would ask that Pateh Ludang's tribesmen may be given to me." The Bendahara then took leave of Sultan Muzaffar Shah, and when he was come before Sultan Ala'u'd-din Ri'ayat Shah he related to him all that Sultan Muzaffar Shah had said. Then said Sultan Ala'u'd-din Ri'ayat Shah, "Very well, we grant to him the tribesmen for whom he asks." And after Sultan Muzaffar Shah had stayed some while at Sayong, he took his leave of Sultan Ala'u'd-din Ri'ayat Shah who presented him with robes of honour as befitted his rank: and he thereupon departed for Pahang, where he arrived in due course.

God alone knoweth the truth. To Him do we return.
The writer of the book is Raja Bongsu.

COMMENTARY

1. *sĕgala*: generally, if not always, in the S.M. *sĕgala* merely indicates that the word it qualifies is in the plural: it does not mean "all", which is *sakalian* or *sĕmua*. For a good illustration of this meaning of *sĕgala* cf. Hang Tuah I, p.2 *bĕbĕrapa sĕgala anak raja bĕndak mĕminang tuan putĕri*.

1a. *pada Bĕndabara*: (? should have been omitted, see R.O.W. corrigenda in *JMBRAS*, 18, pt. 2). The MS has قد هاري but *pada bari* makes no sense here. Might قد بندهاري have been intended, i.e. Sultan Ala'u'd-din gave orders to the Treasury to have the chronicle made, just as Sultan Mansur had given orders to the Treasury to issue rice to the defenders of Singapore (p.81, 1.31) ? *Bĕndabari* means in effect the State Treasury or Secretariat. 'Treasurer' in the S.M. is always *Pĕngbulu Bĕndabari* (on p.219, 1.42 *Bĕndabari* should read *Pĕngbulu Bĕndabari*)

2. *pĕraturan*: MS فتورن (? *pĕtuturan*). This word also occurs in 1.36 below, where R.O.W. has again conjectured *pĕrturan*, and again on p.165, 1.26 where however R.O.W. has allowed *pĕtuturan* to stand. Is there in each case a copyist's error for فتورن the old spelling of present day فراتوران : or did *pĕtuturan* in 15th century Malay mean 'descent' ? The meaning of *pĕraturan* here is defined in 1.36 below, viz. *Salalu's-Salatina* (descent of kings). It looks as though *pĕri* has been omitted in error in the MS. before *pĕraturan* : Sh. has *pĕri pĕrsĕtua dan pĕraturan*.

3. (di) *chĕritĕrakan oleh yang ĕmpunya chĕtĕra*: Sh. *kata yang ĕmpunya chĕrita* (cf. *di-bikayatkan oleh orang yang ĕmpunya hikayat ini* on p. 56, 1.6). According to W. this phrase means 'the author: we'. It may sometimes have that meaning but certainly not always. It probably does not mean much more than 'tradition has it'; but it may be more specific, viz. according to the account we have received.

4. *di-kĕluari-nya*: not noted by W. though it occurs *passim* in the S.M. The precise meaning is not always clear. Here it may mean simply 'Raja K.H. went out' (cf. *tiada di-turuni-nya=tiada dia turun* on p. 62, 1.8) But in *tiada bĕrani orang mĕngĕluari dia* on p. 126, 1.21 the word clearly means 'repel' and I think that is the usual meaning of *kĕluari* in the S.M.

5. *Maka Raja Kida Hindi..... iman-lab*: evidently a copyist's error: should read *Maka Raja K. H. pun mĕmbawa iman-lab. Sa-tĕlah sudah Raja K. H. mĕmbawa iman jadi Islam.....*

6. *di-pĕrsalini*: lit. given a change of raiment. A custom copied from the Moguls' court. "There were (among the later Moguls)

References in this Commentary to page and line numbers are to the romanised Malay text prepared by Sir Richard Winstedt from Raffles M.S. 18, and published by the present Society in 1938 (*JMBRAS*, 16, pt. 3, pp. 1—225). The notes on this page refer to page 42 and 43 of this edition.

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four degrees of *kbiŕat* i.e. dresses of honour presented by a superior on a ceremonial occasion; these consisted of 3, 5, 6 or 7 pieces; or they might as a special mark of favour consist of clothes the emperor had actually worn" (W. Irvine in JRAS July 1806, p. 533). Recipients of this honour in the S.M. are *inter alios* chiefs on first appointment (p. 86), visiting rulers (e.g.p.163), envoys (e.g. p. 113) and leaders of successful military expeditions (e. g. p. 127). Sometimes described simply as *di-pěrsalin baginda* or *měmberi pěrsalin akan*....: but more often the words (*děngan*) *sa-lěngkap-nya* to denote the completeness of the *pěrsalin*, as described on p. 86, or (*děngan*) *sapěrti-nya* 'appropriate to his rank' are added.

7. *sapěrti pakaian diri-nya*: the word *pakaian* = 'things worn', e.g. 'clothes' as *pakaian baginda sěndiri* at the foot of p. 45, or 'ornaments' 'jewellery' (as habitually in Kelantan now) e.g. *pěrsalin**dari-pada pakaian yang mulia-mulia*....*manikam* on p. 45, l.19. The 'ornaments' would be such as are described in App. G of Winstedt and Wilkinson's History of Perak (JMBRAS, 12, 1934).

8. *sěmbab*: as a verb stands simply for anything 'said' or 'submitted' by a subject to a Raja: for brevity's sake I have merely translated as 'say' 'reply' etc.

9. *tiada ada*.....*kěběndak*: should read *tiada ada tara-nya lagi, kěběndak*.....

10. *kěluar-lah ka-pěnghadapān*: in this context *kěluar* means 'come out of (the inner apartments of the) palace', 'appear in public' in fact (the converse of *masok* 'go into the (inner apartments of the) palace or 'retire') and receive company in the hall of audience (*balai*); the place of each person in the *balai* being very carefully determined and in the case of distinguished visitors a matter of considerable political importance. Not only had the Raja his 'hall of audience', but so had his ministers from the Běndahara (see p. 163) downwards (cf. *Sěri Nara 'diraja*.....on p. 120, l.42). There is no real English equivalent for *di-adap orang*. In the case of the Raja I have translated 'give an audience', but this is not entirely satisfactory.

11. *děngar-nya* : should read *di-děngar-nya* as in Sh.

12. *anak hamba*.....*měngěrjakan dia*.....*yang ada ini* : the words in brackets in this passage have been interpolated from Sh. They can, I think, be omitted, in which case *yang ada ini* refers to *sahaya-nya*. A *sahaya* as a household worker ranked higher than a *hamba* who worked in the fields.

13. *sudab-lah hamba kabwinkan*: odd, considering that the necessary consent had not yet been given?

13^a. *mas*: so Sh., but the MS has *atas-nya*, i.e. to be paid by Raja Iskandar.

14. *sěgala pěrdana měntěri*: should read *sěgala para-měntěri*: there was only one *pěrdana měntěri*.

14^a. *bulubalang*: see R.O.W., The Malays, p. 51 for the account given in 'Adat Raja-Raja Mělayu' of the meaning of the terms *biduanda*, *kshatriya* (S.M. *chětěria*), *pěriai*, *pěrwira*, *sida* (S.M. *sida-sida*) and *bulubalang*. There is little evidence from the S.M. to corroborate that account, except possibly as regards *kshatriya* (*chětěria*) and *sida* (*sida*)

These notes refer to pages 43—45 of Winstedt's romanised text: see footnote on p. 205, *antea*.

Biduanda: mentioned on p.68, l.36 as being present with *raja-raja*, *mëntëri* etc. at a royal audience, but they come last in the list and may well have been nothing more than pages or palace-orderlies (see W. sub voc.) Cf. Hang Tuah I, p.19 *anak mëntëri... akan jadi biduanda di-dalam istana*. The *biduanda China* on p.118, l.31 and the *anak biduanda Muar* on p.127, l.34 were certainly not *biduanda* such as are described in the 'Adat Raja-Raja Melayu

Chëtëria: on p.85, l.2 and p.86, l.14 they are classed with *anak raja-raja* (in Kedah Laws, R.O.W., *JMBRAS*, 6 pt. 2, p. 42 *chëtëria* are defined as *anak raja-raja*) : and the references to Sri Rama on pp. 121, l.45 and 177, l.33 shew how high was his standing at the Malacca court as a *chëtëria*

Sida-sida: mentioned *passim* as attending royal audiences: they have a place of honour in the *balai* (p.84, last line). On p.115, l.16 Tun Indra Segara is described as *asal sida-sida* (see note thereon).

Përiai : the only mention is on p.162, first line

Pëwira: mention is on p.104, l.25 as *pëwira yang asal-bërasal*. See also note *përawangan* on p.56, l.45

Hulubalang: on p.67, l.5 Badang is *made a hulubalang* (cf. also Hang Tuah I, p.18... *di-jadikan hulubalang*) : on p.75, l.11 we read of Siamese hulubalang. In the S.M. the term seems merely to connote a 'fighting-man' (Skeat in his Malay Magic translates *hulubalang* as 'war-chief' and I can think of nothing better). Cf. the definition in Pahang Laws (R.O.W. and J. E. Kempe, *JMBRAS*, 21, pt 1, p.26) *di-jadikan oleh sègala raja-raja itu hulubalang akan përbiasaan kërajaan-nya dan bagi mënolakkan mara bahaya raja ia-lab akan mëndinding sègala sëtëru musob.....*

15. *di-kënalkan-nya akan pëgawai*: the MS has *di-katakan-nya akan pëgawai* and Sh. has *di-kenakan-nya akan pakaian*. Surely *pakaian* must be right? The MS *di-katakan-nya* makes good sense "he declared them to be the jewellery of his daughter."

16. *di-anugërab*: after this the MS has *përsalin* and there must be an omission of some conjunction before *sa-ratus*

17. *sa-akan-akan rupa*: the MS has *tërsalin akan rupa-nya*. Cf. the expression *salin tak tumpah* when used of the resemblance of one person to another, 'the very spit of.'

18. *tërsëbut-lab përkataan*: the Malay translation of *Al-kesab*. W. does not quote this phrase. The clue to its meaning will be found in *Awang Sulong*, p. 27 *hilang chërta baginda.....tërsëbut përkataan tuan putëri* 'leaving for the moment the story of the king we come now to the (tale of) the princess', i.e. *tërsëbut përkataan* means not so much 'it is related' as 'the story is now set out.'

nëgëri: more often used in the S.M. to mean 'city' than 'country'. It was an Indian concept centring on a ruler's capital.

19. *Raja Shulan*: see R.O.W., Kingship and Enthronement (*JMBRAS*, 20, pt. I) p.129

20. *mëngëmpong*: the copyist has sadly confused himself in the MS over the words *kampung* and *këpong* (old form *këmpong*). Thus on p.49, l.23 and on p. 199, l.43 what obviously should be *bër-kampung* he writes as *بركفوڠ* and what appears correctly as *kam-*

These notes refer to pages 45—48 of Winstedt's romanised text: see footnote on p. 205, *antea*.

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pong on p. 51, l.24 is written كفوڠ in the MS. Conversely what appears as *di-kěponkan-nya* following the MS on p. 201, l.37 should clearly be *di-kampong-kan-nya* !

21. *batu hitam*: black hornblende, see Q. Wales, *Archaeological Researches*, JMBRAS, 18, pt. 1, pp. 78—9.

21a. *běruangkan gajah-nya* *pědang-nya* : the meaning conveyed by *běr...kan* in this passage is not the same in each instance. *Běruangkan gajah-nya* evidently = 'made their elephants fight the elephants of the enemy', as *juang* is properly applied to the 'fighting' of elephants with each other. But *běrgigit-kan kuda-nya* may mean 'made their horses fight with their teeth.' *Běrtikam-kan lěmbing (-nya MS)* should mean 'thrust at each other with their lances': but it is doubtful whether any reciprocal action is expressed in *běrpětekan panah-nya*

22. *maka sěgěra ia tampil*: MS *maka Raja Shulan pun sěgěra tampil* مفرچف ؟ *měnguchap sěru* 'hurl a challenge' ?

23. *rampasan*: the story on p.201 of the looting of the Brunei (?) ship suggests that female captives constituted an important part of any *rampasan*. Cf. also p. 158 l.33 where *měrampas* is immediately followed by a mention of the capture of three daughters of the Raja.

24. *tujoh buah gunong*: cf. the description of the city of Yak (?) on p. 135.

25. *pělbagai* *di-sana*: should read, following the MS, *pělbagai kayu-kayuan, dan sěgala bunga-bunga dan sěgala buah-buahan yang di-dalam dunia ini ada-lah di-sana* and I have translated accordingly. The meaning of *buah-buahan* here is 'fruit-trees', not 'fruits of all sorts' (W.): cf. *sěgala buah-buahan yang sudah běrbuah* on p.51, last line.

26. *běrburu atau mēnjěrat gajah*: so Sh. and the MS بريرة , اوتو may be only a copyist's error for *běrburu atau*. It may on the other hand represent *běrbuat ra(n) tau*: in Kelantan the word *ra(n)tau* is commonly used for 'ground' or 'place' for sport

27. *Hikayat Hamzah*: see R.O.W., *Malay Literature* (JMBRAS, 17, pt. 3), p. 59.

28. *peti sa-buah kacha*: an error for *sa-buah pěti kacha* as in l.34 below

29. *těrmasa mēlihat*: W. does not note this adjectival use of *těrmasa*, though Marsden does. Cf. *main těrmasa* on p. 60, l.20

30. *Moga-moga*: W. under *moga-moga* I does not cover the whole ground. Neither here nor in *muga-muga dēngan takdir Allah ta'ala* on p. 114, l.3 nor on p.99, last line has the word any optative sense, and it merely means 'presently': while in *Hang Tuah* I, p.40 we find *muga-muga-lah ada anak H.M. běrdiri di-badapan kita tadi* where it obviously=*mujur* 'fortunately.'

31. *indab-indab*: not so much 'fine: precious: fair' (W:) as 'impressive': cf. *apa-apa yang di-libat Sultan yang endab-endab* on p.210, l.1

These notes refer to pages 48—54 of Winstedt's romanised text: see footnote on p. 205, *antea*.

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32. *těrhampir*: more likely, I think, *těrhampar* (the stage in padi growth known in Perak as *padi tēngab mēngampar*) lit. 'there was a carpet of ripe rice.'

33. *Chahaya apa gėrangan*: more probably *chahaya api gėrangan*. *Api* is written اف in old Malay spelling

34. *běrnyala-lab*: MS here and on p. 55, l.6, بریاله. *Běrnyala-lab* may be correct here but it cannot be on p.55. Possibly what was intended in both cases was بریال (běrnyala-nyala), the ۲ having been attached by error to the ل

35. *sa-rasa*: omitted by Sh. and is used oddly here if the MS is correct. *Sa-rasa mēlibat* should mean 'as though I saw it' (cf. *minum ayer sa-rasa duri*), but it seems here to have the same meaning as *rasa-nya*.

36. *kětiga-nya dudok di-atas gajab puteb*: how many 'white elephants'? R.O.W. (p. 18) says one. I should have said three, *kětiga-nya* in this sentence having the same meaning as in *kětiga-nya mēmakai pakaian kėrajaan* two lines above

37. *karna kami ka-mari ini*: I suspect the text here, as the sentence *manusia ka-mari ini* comes in awkwardly and abruptly. The Sh. version *karna kami pun lama-lab di-sini, tiada kami mēlibat sa-orang pun manusia datang ka-mari ini* is what should have been written here.

38. *dari Bukit*: Sh. *ka-bukit*, which is what the context seems to require, the point being, one would have thought, that they were come down from heaven, not from Bukit G.M. But *dari Bukit G. M.* is repeated on p. 101, l.11; and on p.123, l.31 we have *turun daripada Bukit G.M.*: otherwise one might have taken *dari* here as = *di* (cf. *dari-atas bubongan-nya* on p.157, l.20, where *dari* = *di*)

39. *di-jěmput*: according to W. *jěmput* means 'greet' 'invite,' and this seems to be the meaning in *di-jěmput oleh bonda tuan-ku* on p.59, l.40. Elsewhere in the S.M. the usual meaning seems to be 'fetch with ceremony', e.g. *mějěmput surat Raja Pěrlak* on p. p.68, l.38 or *baginda mējyurohkan mějěmput saudara-nya ka-Manjong* on p.79, l.11. (I fancy that in *datang tak bějěmput, pulang tak bějəntar* which W. quotes, the real meaning is 'coming without being fetched—see p.85 herein, l.39—and going back with no escort') The word used in the S.M. for 'greeting' in the sense of 'welcoming' is *alu-alu*.

39.^a *Tanjong Pura*: north of Dėli in N. E. Sumatra

40. *muntakkan bueb*: hence the family of Muntah Lembu, see p.96, l.45

41. *Abo pěrmaisuri* : see Appendix A

42. *chiri*: see R.O.W., History of Perak (*JMBRAS*, 12, pt. I, p.175) and R.O.W., Kingship and Enthronement, *JMBRAS*, 20, pt. I, p. 135) See also note on *mějėnakan dia* on p.86, l.8

42.^a. *pėrawangan dan pėrdaraan*: so Sh. See p.105, l.17 of this text where *pėrawangan ėmpat puloh itu* are apparently the same people as *pėrwira yang asal-bėrasal ėmpat puloh* mentioned on p.

These notes refer to pages 54—56 of Winstedt's romanised text: see footnote on p. 205, *antea*.

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104, l.25. We may have there the explanation of the term *pěrawangan* used here, viz. a sort of Corps of Noble Youths established for personal attendance on the Ruler? *Pěrdaraan* may represent a similar institution—young girls chosen as Maids of Honour for attendance on the Raja *Pěrempuan*?

43. *barang di-mana-mana*: Sh., better, *barang di-mana-mana raja-raja yang ada bēranak pěrempuan yang baik paras*

44. *istěri*: MS *anak istěri*, a good example of *anak istěri* standing for 'wife' only and not 'wife and children' which is the meaning it seems to have on p.186, l.3

45. *oleh di-jamah*: should read *di-jamah oleh*.

46. *ada sa-orang anak-nya*: would read better *ada sa-orang anak-nya pěrempuan, těrlalu baik*.....

47. *diqqad*: MS دقت In the other MSS there is the unintelligible *di-pěrsěmbahkan*. Sh. has *di-suroh pinang oleh Sang Si-Pěrba*. In this text on p.110 *diqqad* appears twice but the MS there has ددت. Could دقت here be an error for دفت (*di-pinta*)?

48. *tiada di-ikat-nya*: this undertaking seems to have been easily forgotten cf. e.g. p. 225, l.3

49. *měmběri 'aib*.....*di-binasakan*: cf. the story of Sang Ranjuna Tapa on p. 81. l.18 et sqq. *Pada* has been omitted by error here before *sa-orang hamba Mělayu*

50. *suka-chita*: the MS adds *mělibat anak-nya sělamat tiada bērbahaya*

51. *běrlěngkap*: one of the few instances in which this word is used in the S.M. without reference to ships. It generally means (in the S.M.) 'get ready ships': in one instance the ships are actually mentioned (p.73, l.23). *měmandikan*: for a description of this ceremony see R.O.W., Kingship and Enthronement, p.132.

52. *pěrdana měntěri*: see note 14 referring to p.45, l.1. *Sida-sida*: see note 14^a on *bulubalang*.

52^a. *dari peti Darmani*...*běrdaimai*: Sh. has *darapati darmani buru daimani*. A Telugu scholar tells me that these may represent Telugu words, viz. *darapata dermai* and *burudai-mani*. He says that *darapata* is a garment like a dhoti, made of silk and probably bejewelled, while *dermani* is derived from *derma* and means 'a person who is *derma* i.e. 'virtuous'. *Burudai* is a female's garment like a sari and *burudai-mani* would mean 'a jewelled *burudai*'.

53. *běrangkat-lab* *běrangkat-lab*: evidently an error in copying; the first *běrangkat-lab* is out of place and should be omitted

54. *běrkira-kira*: not noted by W. and the word seems to be used with two shades of meaning in the S.M. Thus in *běrkira-kira bėndak měnyěrang* on p.51, l.8 immediate action follows and the word seems to mean 'took steps to', whereas in this instance advice is first sought and the meaning seems to be 'propose', 'meditate'.

These notes refer to pages 56—58 of Winstedt's romanised text: see footnote on p. 205, *antea*.

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55. *lanchang pemujuangan*: Sh. has *lanchang mas p.* and the mention of *lanchang perak* in this line suggests that *mas* has been omitted by error here. For *pemujuangan* see W. under *bujang* II. C & S. say 'bachelors quarters'. ? a yacht carrying S.T.B. and the menfolk only. [Cf. p.267, l.14. R.O.W. conjectures 'an old corruption of *pərbujangan* = a dragon - boat, i.e. a boat with a dragon as figurehead']

56. *Bentan*: now generally known as Riau. For the geography of the S.M. see the map at the end of this journal, based on that given on p.261 of Winstedt's 'History of Malaya' (*JMBRAS*, 13, pt. 1, 1935).

57. *nobat*: references to *nobat* in the S.M. may be grouped as follows:—

(a) rulers of neighbouring countries coming to Malaka *běndak mēmohonkan nobat*, pp. 163, 176 and 197: cf. also p.206;

(b) ruler installed (*di-nobatkan*), pp. 59, 120, 168 and 204;

(c) the ceremony described as *měngadap nobat* pp. 87 and 202;

(d) as a sign of mourning *baginda tiada nobat*, pp. 93 and 168.

In (a), (b) and (c) it looks as though the reference is to the big drum (*gěndang nobat*) only—originating probably with the drum of the *pawang*, see R.O.W., Malay Magician, p. 10; and all that we are told of what happened at a *měngadap nobat* is contained in the *angan nobat di-palu dabulu* on p. 202, l.10.

The accuracy of W.'s definition "*nobat* (Pers. nau-bat: nine items) means 'Royal band of nine items'" is doubtful: but that *nobat* in the S.M. may have included other instruments than the *gěndang* is indicated by *di-anugěrah Sultan Mansur Shah payong, gěndang, sěruai dan nafiri* on p.120, l.32 the text may be corrupt, see note on *maka sěri Bija 'diraja* ibid.): and it is likely that in (d) above there may be a reference to a royal orchestra such as is described on pp. 159-60 of W. and W.'s History of Perak (*JMBRAS*, 12, pt. 1): see also Linehan's article on *nobat* (*JMBRAS*, 24, pt. 3).

57a. *sěmbab.....salam*: see notes 211 referring to p. 93. l.36 and 244 referring to p.98, l.34.

58. *pěrgi-lah dari T. Ruas*: Sh. *pěrgi-lah, maka dari Tanjong Ruas*, which is clearly right

59. *ka-dalam něgěri*: the MS has *masuk ka-dalam pada Wan Sěri Běnian nama-nya*

60. *ka-Tanjong běrmāin*: ?*ka-Tanjong Běmian*, as stated in l.18. Sh., *ka-Tanjong Běmban*.

61. *Apa kěrja.....ka-Bentan*: Sh. *apa kěrja anak kita pěrgi běrmāin ka-sana?* As this conversation took place in Bentan, the text as it stands cannot be right. Either (a) *Bentan* is an error for *Běmian* or (b) the word *jaub* has been omitted after *běrmāin* (cf. *běndak běrmāin jaub* in l.7 below) and the passage should read thus:—

Apa kěrja anak kita pěrgi běrmāin jaub? Ka-Bentan tiada-kab rusa pėlāndok..... I prefer (b) and have translated accordingly. *Pěrgi běrmāin* is understood before Bentan, hence the *ka-*

These notes refer to pages 59—60 of Winstedt's romanised text: see footnote on p. 205, *antea*.

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61^a. *kandang*....*kurongan* : the context requires that these words should mean 'enclosures into which wild animals are driven for capture' as elephants are driven into *kubu* (see W. sub voc.)

62. *pěrburu*: ? *běrburu* as Sh.

63. *kain* كفن : unidentifiable Sh. *kain těrhampar*

64. *měnyaběrang*: 'started to cross': the verb here is used to describe the initiation of an action not completed. So *kěmbali* often in the S.M. means 'set out on the return journey' rather than 'return'. Cf. *di-angkat-nya-lah (batu itu) oleh pablawan Kěling itu tiada těrangkat* on p. 67, last 2 lines.

64^a. *Wan Sěri Bėnian tėlāb hilang-lah*: Sh. adds *Maka anak Dėmang Lebar Daun di-rajakan baginda di-Bentan, bėrgėlār Tun Tėlānai*. For *Tun Tėlānai* see note on p.214, l.2

65. *datang-lah pėridaran dunia*: Spenser's "ever-whirling wheele. Of change, the which all mortal things doth sway."

66. *tiada di-turuni-nya*: = *tiada ia turun*: Cf. *di-banguni-nya* = *dia bangun* on p. 158, l.4 and see note thereon which applies *mutatis mutandis* here. The precedent set by T.P.P. Běrjajar was followed by Bėndahara Sri Maharaja, see p. 160, last line

67. *di-jadikan... Fėrdana Mėntėri.....Dendang*: the text is confused here. There are four appointments in question, viz.

(1) *Fėrdana Mėntėri*, given to Dėmang Lebar Daun's son, with the title of Pėrpatch Pėrmuka Sėkalar

(2) *Pengbulu Bėndahari*, with the title of Tun Jana Buga Dėdang

(3) *Tėmėnggong*, with the title of Tun Jana Pėtra....(?)

(4) principal *bulubalang*, with the title of Tun Tempuung G. I have suggested in the translation how I think the passage should be read.

68. *sėgala fėrdana mėntėri*: see note 14 referring to p.45, l.1.

69. *chėtėria*: see note 14^a on *bulubalang* referring to p. 45

70. *dėngan 'adat-nya.....kala*: not Malay as it stands: should read as in Sh. (*masing-masing pada mėrtabat-nya, dėmikian-lah*) '*adat-nya pada zaman purba kala*.'

71. *raja di-Tanjong Pura*: Paludatani, see pp. 55—6.

72. *Lėbeb daripada itu*: the MS has the more emphatic *lėbeb daripada ini pun*

72^a. *hisab*: W. under *hisab* does not note a use of this word which is common in the S.M., viz. with the meaning "(take) account (of)," whether as a substantive as here or as in *bisab pun ia tiada* p.211, l.35 or in verbal form *kata orang itu tiada di-bisab-kan-nya* p.213, l.24

72^b *těrhisabkan*: so Sh. The MS has *tėrkatakan*

73. *tėrlalu ramai*: in Hang Tuah II, p.184 we read *tėrlalu ramai gėlak-gėlak antara lima orang itu*. Five people can hardly be described as *tėrlalu ramai* in the sense of 'in large numbers': in that context the meaning of *tėrlalu ramai* must surely be 'heartily', and I have a feeling that in the majority of instances in which *tėrlalu ramai* is used in the S.M. the meaning is 'strongly' 'fiercely' and not 'in large numbers.'

These notes refer to pages 60—63 of Winstedt's romanised text: see footnote on p. 205, *antea*.

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tiada sangka...mati: I suggest re-punctuating as follows:—
tiada sangka bunyi (-nya) lagi: daripada kedua pihak...mati
 Cf. *daripada kedua pihak pun banyak-lab-mati* on p.148, l.23

74. *maka kami*.....: should read *maka kami simpan-kan*, see R.O.W. *corrīgenda* loc. cit. Cf. *Risalat Hukum Kanun*, 6 *tělah kami simpankan pada hukum kanun itu*

75. *bangsa-ku*: MS كفرة which should be كفاك —*kupu-ku*? See W. under *kupu*

75a. *měnitabkan*: the word *titabkan* is used throughout the S.M. with the meaning 'appoint for a special duty' 'commission' or in fact practically 'send', cf. p.68, l.22 *titabkan ka-Singapura*

76. *Sa-tělah surat... hěrti-nya*: it is unlikely that Raja J.R.M. either read the letter himself or understood its contents uninterpreted. Sh. has *tělah sampai kapada baginda, maka di-suroh bacha pada jurubahasa: satělah di-kětabui*.....which is obviously the correct account of what happened.

77. *di-alu-alukan*: just as Sultan Maliku's-Saleh himself welcomed the Raja of Perlak's daughter on p. 73. This was a courtesy that Sultan Mansur did not extend even to the daughter of the Raja of China: she was merely welcomed by chiefs! (p. 118)

78. *maka... kěbēsaran*: ? add, as in Sh., *di-sambut baginda, di-bawa ka-Singapura*.

79. *utusan*: was this the *bulubalang* who escorted the princess? Ordinarily the mention of *utusan* postulates a *surat*, but we are not told of any *surat* from Kalinga.

80. *mangkat*: MS منگكت (?*měnangkat*). On p. 90 there is another odd spelling of what should be *mangkat*, see note 202 on: *maka anakanda* on that p., line 26. See also p.215, l.40.

81. *di-chapak-nya*: not known to W. or Marden. The MS has دچقش ? *di-chěpok-nya*. C. & S. give *chěpok* with the meaning 'dabble with the hand in the water (so as to make noise)' Omit the words I have enclosed in brackets and *di-chěpok-nya* would fit here.

82. *riding*: MS ريده ? *redang*, see W. sub voc. Leyden translates 'among the reeds' and I think he is right. *Riding* 'noose' is unsuitable here.

83. *تركمار مير* may stand for the Perak word *těrkēmamar-mamir* ('confused')

84. *jangan-lab aku kau-bunoh*: should mean 'dont kill me (kill some one else if you like)' The MS has *jangan-lab ěngkau ku-bunoh* which is even more puzzling.

85. *di-pěnggang*: for this old spelling of *pěgang* cf. *běrpěng-gang* on p.89, l.20 (note 199a).

86. *děngan tangan-nya juga*: should read *děngan sa-bělah tangan-nya juga*.

87. *měněmbang*: old spelling of *měněbang*. Cf. *mě-ngěmpōng (měngěpōng)* on p. 148, l.38 and *pěnggang (pěnggang)*

These notes refer to pages 64—66 of Winstedt's romanised text: see footnote on p. 205, *antea*.

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on this p., l.33. *Bangat amat suchi*: Sh., better, *maka bangat*..... See note on *maka tiada tabu* on p. 144, l.1

88. *di-jadikan*...*bulubalang*: see note 14^a on *bulubalang*.

89. *Sa-telah*: ? sc. *itu*, otherwise the sentence has no main verb

90. *taroh-nya*: = the stakes of it. i.e. of the match Cf. *timbang-nya ini-lah akan taroh-nya* on p. 196, l.4

91. *titakkan*: see note 75^a above

92. *biduanda*: see note on *bulubalang* on p. 45.

93. *měnjěmput*: see note on *di-jěmput* on p.56

94. *měmbawa gajab*: a letter from Perlak was evidently deemed *patut bėrgajab*, see p. 85, l.31

95. *bunyi-nya*: see p.119, l.2 and p.217, ll.20-31 where it is clear that the *bunyi* of a letter was its opening words, and I fancy that this is the meaning in most instances in the S.M.

96. *měncbuba kuat Badang*: should read *měncbuba kuat dėngan Badang* as in Sh.

97. *kėlakuan-nya*: 'how he shapes' in fact.

98. *kėlawan*: MS كلون ?an error for كلكون (*kėlakuan*) as in Sh.

99. *sa-jam malam*: Sh. *sa-jam lama-nya*, but would the envoys have become drunk in an hour? I suggest *sa-jamu malam* 'a night's feasting.'

100. *takut mėngadu*: the semi-play on words of this *mėngadu* is more effective than Sh. *měnjadi bėsėliseb*

101. *batu rantai*: is this the same as the *rantai yang měnjadi batu rantai* on p. 67, l.6 ? If so, this parenthesis about *Benderang* comes in oddly. Sh. omits the earlier mention of the *batu rantai* (on p. 67) and describes the laying of this boom as a joint effort of *Benderang* and *Badang* !

102. *di-arak*: should read *di-surok arak*

103. *bėrgaiab, di-kėpilkan di-balai*: the highest honours that could be accorded, see p. 85, l.27 (note 173^a refers).

103^a. *Pasai*: in Acheh, N. Sumatra, to the south of the Jambu Ayer river

104. *kėrja-nya*: so Sh. (the MS has كرجان). The use of *kėrja-nya* followed later by *sa-tėlah bėrapa lama-nya dėmikian juga* suggests that the trap was set, and *gėlang-gėlang* caught, a number of times. According to the *Hkt. Raja-raja Pasai* however this only happened twice.

105. *di-rėbus-nya*: this version of the story omits the explanation given in *H. R. Pasai*, viz. *Maka Mėrah Silu pun pikir dalam hati-nya, " Bahwa gėlang-gėlang ini kurnia Allah ta'ala akan aku rupa-nya*, whereafter he proceeded to boil them.

106. *bėndak di-bunob-nya*: probably not to be interpreted literally. The phrase does not occur in the H.R.P. version, accord-

These notes to refer pages 67—70 of Winstedt's romanised text: see footnote on p. 205, *antea*.

ing to which Měrah Chaga (Hasum—H.R.P.)'s grievance against his brother was in regard to the catching of buffaloes and is expressed as *ia mēmbēri aku malu juga...nyab-lah ia dari nēgēri ini*.

107. *di-ēmasi-nya*: not noted by W., C. & S. or Marsden. Used later to describe the 'sweetening' necessary to the successful abduction of Tun Teja and the Sultan of Pahang's elephant, pp. 160-75

107a. *Sēmudra*: in N. Sumatra, on the north side of the Jambu Ayer river

107b. *sudab* ملاهن : MS مده مداهن (*muda-mudaban*). Here as on p.76, l.23, the word *mudab-mudaban* has the meaning of *gērangan* ('perchance') rather than its usual optative sense.

107c. *Fansuri*: in N. W. Sumatra : presumably the birthplace of Hamzah Pansuri, see R.O.W., Malay Lit., p.96

107d. *Lamiri* : on the northernmost tip of Sumatra

107e. *Haru* : appears in the map in R.O.W., History of Malaya, as Aru Bay in Aceh, Sumatra

107f. *Yang bērnama*: should read *Di-mana yang bērnama...* as in Sh.

107g. *Pērlak* : presumably the place which appears in some maps as Porolak, to the north of Aru Bay

108. *mēngupas...saudara-nya*: a better punctuation would be *mēngupas pinang akan saudara-nya, bērkain...* It is Putēri Gēnggang's dress and beauty, not that of her sisters, that is subsequently described. (This accords with the relevant passage in the H. R. Pasai)

109. *Maka sēmbah Saidi A.*: according to the H. R. Pasai the choice of Putēri Gēnggang was only made after Saidi A. had reported to Sultan Maliku'l-Saleh and the latter had consulted the astrologers !

110. *dan akan Tun P. P.* : there must be an omission here: we are not told what Tun P.P. received

111. *di-nēgēri Pērlak*: evidently inserted in error. Why should they have grown up in Pērlak? Sh. has.....*bēsar-lah, dan nēgēri Pērlak pun alah*.

112. *jangan...bērsaudara*: Sh. has *jangan kamu bēri bērchērai dan bērsalaban ia dua bērsaudara* which is clearly correct and also follows the H. R. Pasai.

113. *Raja Sēmudra*: the annalist goes badly wrong with his nomenclature in what follows. Semudra was the kingdom of Sultan Maliku'l - Mansur (p. 74): but the Raja taken in captivity to Siam was Sultan Maliku'tl-Tahir (p.77, l.7) who was Raja of Pasai. After describing the captive as Raja of Semudra until towards the bottom of p. 75 and mentioning the attempt of *hulubalang Raja Sēmudra* to rescue their master, the annalist suddenly tells us that *Raja Pasai* was carried off to Siam. Yet it was *Raja Sēmudra* who was made to tend the palace fowls in Siam. The rescue from Siam was made by the chief minister of Pasai, yet when they returned home it was to Sēmudra that they went ! The Sh. version is equally confused in this respect.

114. *bingga...bēlayar*: an elliptic way of saying that the ships set out one after another until they had all sailed? As they were going as merchantmen they would not have sailed as a fleet

These notes refer to pages 70—75 of Winstedt's romanised text: see footnote on p. 205, *antea*.

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115. *di-bawa orang-lah*: not in Sh. Presumably the Semudra people are referred to, but if so, why no mention of the usual processional honours being accorded to the letter?

116. *turun-lah*: after *turun-lah* the MS has *ka-jong-nya mēmbawa Raja Pasai lalu di-layarkan-nya kēmbali* and I have translated accordingly

117. *sapērti-nya*: the *nya* is not in the MS. For *pakaian* see note 7 referring to p. 43

118. *mēmbēli dagangan* 'Arab...chara 'Arab: the punctuation here follows Sh., but I suggest the passage should read

dan mēmbēli dagangan 'Arab. Karna orang Pasai.....babasa 'Arab, maka Saidi 'Ali.....

The statement (for what it may be worth) that the Pasai people knew Arabic has more relevance to the crew of the ship pretending to be Arabs than to the purchase of Arab merchandise?

119. *sa-bahara mas*: it seems to be clear that in Portuguese times in Malacca a *bahara* weighed about 400 lbs. avoirdupois. What is not certain is the value of gold at that time. If it was only a quarter of its present value this present was worth over £10,000 ! See on this point R.O.W., History of Malaya, p.58. It is noticeable that in Hang Tuah I, 81, the value of the whole of the merchandise in a ship, which from the context was valuable, is put at *sa-bahara mas*.

120. *Apa juga kēhēndak-mu*: should mean not 'what do you want?' but 'what do you want?', which sounds odd as a first question, though it is correct in *maya juga kēhēndak* in l.31 below. Sh. has no *juga* here and I think it has been put in by error.

121. *maya*: see Preface to this text. The word occurs altogether six times in the S.M., four times on this p., once on p. 78 and once again on p. 95. It is evidently a synonym of *apa*.

122. *mudab-mudaban*: see note 107^b, referring to p. 71, l.44

123. قيمتن : *kimat-nya* (Ar. *kimat* 'value')

124. *Maya apa*: MS *maya juga*

125. *gēmbala*: MS غبال ? *ngēmbala* = *mēngēmbala* which occurs on p. 150, l.12

126. *fitnab*: used here in the ordinary sense of the word in Arabic, viz. 'discord' or even 'war' : on p. 81, l.15 *di-fitnabkan* has the usual meaning of the word in Malay viz. 'slander'

127. *Tēlah bērlaku-lah hukum Allah*: MS لا يلا, presumably by error for لا كله. Cf. *bahwa hukum Allah ta'ala bērlaku-lah pada hari ini* on p. 187, l.16 announcing the impending execution of Bendahara S.M. The remark of Saidi A. here is prophetic, referring to the fate which was in store for himself and his master, see pp. 78-91, below?

128. *Sa-tēlah itu.....kapada Sultan Maliku'l-Tahir*: A comparison of this obscure passage with the Sh. version indicates that what was intended was

Sa-tēlah itu, maka kēdēngaran-lah khabar (bahwa) Sultan Maliku'l-Tahir, di-khabar-kan orang, sudah ada di-Jambu Ayer; dan khabar Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur (bērbuat pēkērjaan tiada

These notes refer to pages 75—77 of Winstedt's romanized text: see footnote on p. 205 *antea*.

patut itu) pun tēlah kēdēngaran-lab ka-pada Sultan Maliku'tl-Tabir.....

and I have translated accordingly

129. *minta di-alu-alukan raja* فنجار : Sh has *minta di-alu-alukan*. Apparently this means that Sultan M. T. asked Sultan M.M. to welcome him at (? Kuala) Jambu Ayer (half way between Semudra and Pasai). Sultan M.M. accordingly went down the river to meet his brother, but Sultan M. T. went upstream from the Kuala (?), then up the Kētui, leaving Jambu Ayer before Sultan M.M. had reached the junction of the Jambu Ayer with the Kētui and purposely missing his brother out of pique?

130. *bukan-lab* توكغ *nama-nya*: the speaker's name was evidently *Tukang Sēkarai* and he makes a play on his name *Tukang*

130a. *kērjakan*: on p. 186, l.12 and p. 193, l.25 this word seems to mean 'make an end of', 'kill' in fact: but the context suggests that it can only mean something like 'carry out' (a plan) here.

131. *sēgala..... di-luar*: this is part of the order given by Sultan M. T. Sh. has *di-surob tinggal.....*

132. *Manjong*: mentioned on, p.204, l.41 as one of the *nēgēri ta'alok baginda* (Sultan Mahmud Shah) *yang arab ka-barat*. Not identified with certainty. Possibly a place lost when a flood changed the course of the Perak river. According to H. R. Pasai Sultan M.T. had been advised by Tun P.T. to send his brother 'a long way from this city', on the principle *jaub dari mata, jaub dari hati*! The place named in the H. R. Pasai is Tēmiang: there is an island of that name in the Lingga archipelago, but there is also a Tēmiang in Aceh.

133. *Padang Maya ini*: should read *Padang maya ini?* (what plain is this?). For *maya* see note **121** referring to p.76 l.21 of the text.

134. *Padang Maya itu*: should read *padang itu*: there is no *maya* in the MS

135. *ahmak*: here used in its ordinary sense of 'foolish': but this meaning will not fit on p. 177, l.44 where the word clearly means 'covetous' 'worldly'

136. *mēnjēmpūt*: 'fetch his brother from Manjong'. Cf. *jēmpūt ka-Sēlangor* on p.216, l.23 and see note on *di-jēmpūt* on p.56.

137. *badan-nya.....di-Langkawi*: Sh. has simply *badan-nya ghaib tiada bērkētahuan*, but adds later *ada suatu chētēra, badan Tun Jana Khatib itu tērbantar di-Langkawi di-tanamkan orang di-sana: itu-lab di-pantunkan orang*

*Tēlur itek dari Sigapura,
Pandan tērlētak di-langkabi;
Darab-nya titek di-Singapura,
Badan-nya tērbantar di-Langkawi*

سكفر : ؟ سكل = *sa-kēpal* 'a clot'. For a similar spelling confusion see l.14 above where *ka-pēmbunohan* appears in the MS as *كقموهن* : also *ایشن* on p.205, l.3 which almost certainly represents *ipar*

These notes refer to pages **77—80** of Winstedt's romanized text: see footnote on p. 205 *antea*.

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137^a. *fěrdana mēntěri*: read *paramēntěri*

137^b. *di-tikam todak itu* برکنٹغ کنجغ میله : I conjecture *běrgantang-genang mati-lab*: see W. under *gantang* IV and *genjang*. میله is presumably an error for متيله a common spelling in the MS of *mati-lab*

138. *lagi mati*: ?*lalu mati*.

139. *bantu mēmarang dia*: Sh. *datang orang mēnetak dia*. Apparently *bantu mēmarang* = *běrsama-sama mēmarang*

140. *ia mēnanggonkan hak-nya*...: lit. he laid his rights as a burden upon the city. Cf. *Risalat Hukum Kanun*, sec. 8, *yang mēmbunoh itu wajib di-bunoh pula supaya hak-nya jangan tērtanggong atas kita*

141. *'umor baginda*: sc. *di-atas kěrajaan*

142. *asal-nya* سیدی : the same spelling of *sědia* in the MS is found on p.150, l.2, p.154, l.27 and 173, l.2.

143. *فرجنگیکن* : = *pěrjěngikan*, a word still used in *Negri Sembilan* with the meaning 'expose'.

143^a. *di-bujong pasar*: the word *bujong* generally means the 'further end' of a thing as opposed to *pankal* 'the near end' cf. *sěsat di-bujong jalan*, *balek ka-pangkal jalan*: but it is evident that in the S.M. in several instances it merely means 'one end', as e.g. *di-ujung balai* on p.85, l.27 whereas on p.140, l.15 the context almost certainly demands that *bujong jambatan* means 'the near end' of the bridge.

144. *maka* دوک : should read دوکت = *dua kěti*, see R.O.W. *corrigenda*, loc. cit.

145. *maka sěgala*.....*pěrgi-lab*: Sh. *maka sakalian-nya pun bėlayar-lab*

145^a. *itu-lab maka*: = *sěbab itu-lab*. Cf. p.223, l.5 and see note 386 referring to p.127, l.9

145^b. *ka-těpi*: MS *těrus ka-těpi*

146. *měngajari*: MS مشجر which I suspect to be *měngachara* (for *ch* being written as *j* see note (6) on p. 225). Raffles MS 80 p. 78 reads مشجرا which is clearly *měngachara*, cf. p. 164, l.2. There is no point in *měngajari* here, but the story of Tun Pěrpateh Hitam on pp. 163-4 illustrates the meaning of *měngachara* and the reference to *mēntěri* on p. 164, l.3 confirms the probability that the word here is *měngachara*. Cf. also Sěri Rama, (*JSBRAS*, No. 71) p. 74 where *běbėnar achara-nya* is given as one of the duties of a Raja.

147. *běbuat bėntara*: presumably the reference here is to the number and duties of the heralds: there was nothing new in *bėntara* as such.

148. *alat raja*: to be carefully distinguished from *alat kěrajaan*. Both are described in detail on p. 85. See note 169 referring to p.85, l.15).

These notes refer to pages 80—82 of Winstedt's romanized text: see footnote on p. 205 *antea*.

149. *Sa-tělah hari*: should read *Sa-tělah itu, hari*
150. *Takutkan shaitan*: may be correct, but I think *Takut kěna shaitan* more likely
151. *kutab*: see R. O. W. 's Preface.
152. *běndahari.....běndahari.....běndahari*: so the MS in each case but obviously in error, see beginning of next paragraph *Maka kata bēndahara*
153. *raja*: the vocative, I think, as in the sentence begining *apa 'alamat-nya* in 1.36: the *ini* qualifies *bahasa yang di-sěbut*. Cf also p.190, 1.35.
- 153a. *měngbaru raja*: MS *měngaru-ngaru raja ini*
154. *'Asar sekarang*: so Sh., but the MS has *waktu 'asar pada sa'at lagi*
155. *Saiyid 'Abdu'l-'aziz*: see p. 129, 1.18
156. *běndahari*: ? *Bēndahara*
157. *baginda yang pěrtama mēlětakkan*: for the description which follows of procedure etc. it is interesting to compare Kedah Laws, pp. 33-44 (R.O.W, op. cit)
158. *ěnggan*: seems here to mean 'except', though this meaning is not noted by W. The MS has (? *anugěrah*) which makes no sense
159. *panjang*: ? *panchong*, see note on *berkain memanchong* on p.157 of the text.
160. *běrkěris di-badapan*: relevant to the incident described on p. 109, second para.
161. *děnda mati*: Sh. *di-děnda pati, yaani sa-kati lima*. Not so however *Risalat Hukum Kanun*, sec. 1, which prescribes *di-bunoh* as the penalty. The Sh. text may have deliberately substituted the milder penalty as being more humane and therefore more creditable to Malay Sultans ?
162. *dudok*: strictly speaking this verb and all those that follow for the next three pages should be translated 'were/was to (sit etc)', to indicate that this is a description of procedure and not of a single transaction: but for brevity's sake I have merely used the past tense.
163. *Sěri balai*: the 'body of the hall' as opposed to the side galleries etc?
164. *anak chětěria*: not in Sh. *Anak chětěria* probably only = *chětěria*, cf. p. 98, last line.
165. *jadi bēndahari*: Sh. has *jadi Bēndahara* which is clearly correct
166. *di-tapakan*: Sh., better, *di-kětapakan balai*
167. *kěpala bēndahara*: should read *kěpala aběntara* as in the MS
168. *sěgala nakhoda Chěmpa.....balai itu*: Sh. has *ada pun nakhoda Chěmpa yang pilehan dudok di-sěri balai: maka sěgala anak tuan-tuan yang běrsabaja - sabaja dudok di-selasar balai*: and it looks as though that is how the passage should run. Alternatively *yang* should be omitted in this text before *dudok* to give the sentence a main verb. Incidentally the Sh. version *indicates

These notes refer to pages 82—85 of Winstedt's romanized text: see footnote on p. 205 *antea*.

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the identity of these *anak tuan-tuan* who are frequently mentioned in the S.M. (e.g. p. 104, l.25 and p. 191, l.35). I take *yang bĕrsabaja-sabaja* to mean 'of good family but nothing more' i.e. holding no office (*tiada kĕna kĕrja raja*). Who were the *nakhoda Chĕmpa*? The establishment of the Cham community in Malaka evidently occurred appreciably later, see p. 137. These *nakhoda Chĕmpa* I take to have been sea-captains who had some standing in Malacca as important traders. One of them appears in the story of Tun Teja, p. 170, l.11

169. *alat raja*: Sh. has *sĕgala pĕrkakas raja, sapĕrti kĕtur dan kĕndi, kipas dan barang sa-bagai-nya* and makes no mention of *pĕrisai* and *panah* which go so oddly with 'cuspidores, goglets and fans' that the correctness of the MS here is suspect

170. *jikalau ada utusan datang*: the procedure hereinafter described is far from clear. The Sh. version, which verbatim corresponds to a large extent with this text; has the advantage that it puts the events in their right order, whereas this text describes what is to be done on the arrival of the letter at the *balai* before describing the procedure for getting the letter to the *balai*. Combining the two versions I gather the procedure to have been as follows:- When the arrival of the envoy (generally *di-kuala*) was announced, a large tray (*kĕrikal*) and a salver (*chĕpir*) were produced from the palace (*dari dalam*) by a slave. These were brought into the *balai*, and the *kĕrikal* was set down *bad Bĕndahara* (? 'as near to the throne as the B. sat'). What subsequently happened to the *kĕrikal* we are not told: but the *chĕpir* was then given to the man who was to 'bring the letter' (i. e. from the envoy's place of arrival) to the *balai* in procession (*di-arak*, not mentioned here but mentioned hereafter *passim*), the type of procession and the marks of honour accorded to the letter varying with the rank of the sender of the letter. When it reached the *balai* it was received by the chief herald on the right and read (no procedure is prescribed here for the reading) and the Raja's *titah* communicated to the envoy by the herald on the left (a written reply was almost invariably delivered to the envoy before he departed). Could the *kĕrikal* have been used for the *bingkisan* or customary present which accompanied the letter?

171. *alat kĕrajaan*: the *gĕndang* must have been omitted by error. It is mentioned in line 30.

171a. *payong puteh*: thereby signifying the acceptance of Pasai and Haru as independent sovereign states not subject to Malacca.

172. *dua buah nĕgĕri itu*: Sh. has *jika surat dari Pasai atau dari Haru*, and it looks as though *dua buah nĕgĕri itu* here means Pasai and Haru. Cf. *sa-buah pun nĕgĕri tiada mĕnyama-i Malaka mĕlainkan Pasai, Haru, tiga buah nĕgĕri itu muda pun raja-nya bĕrķirim salam juga* on p. 125, l.40

173. *jikalau tua muda.....salam juga*: cf. Wan Sri Bĕnian's message on p. 59, ll.35-6 and Sultan Mansur's letter to China on p. 118, last para. For the importance of the wording of a letter in this respect cf. the incidents related on pp. 98 and 146 and see p.125, ll.41-3. And contrast Hkt. R. R. Pasai p.9, l.8 *jikalau tua sakali pun bĕrķirim sĕmbah juga ia kapada Raja Pasai dan jikalau muda sakali pun Raja Pasai, bĕrķirim salam juga ia*

These notes refer to page 85 of Winstedt's romanized text see footnote on p. 205 *antea*.

173^a. *jikalau patut, bĕrgajah*..... what was probably intended was *jikalau patut bĕrgajah, bĕrgajah; jikalau patut bĕrkuda, bĕrkuda*. See lines 41-2 below

174. *Jika utusan Rĕkan sa-kali pun:* ?thus described because Rĕkan, on the East coast of Sumatra and opposite Malacca, was comparatively near at hand.

175. *jĕmput:* see note 39 on *di-jĕmput*.

176. *di-bawakan gajah:* 'he was brought by elephant'

177. *mĕngĕnakan dia:* from *Mĕgat Tĕrawis* (a Malay play by Teh Fatimah: Macmillan, 1951) I take the following description of the investiture of Mĕgat Tĕrawis as Bĕndahara of Perak:-

Mĕgat Tĕrawis pun datang-lab ka-istana dan di-sambuti oleh Bĕntara yang ada bĕrdiri di-kaki tangga istana itu. Bĕntara Dalam pun mĕmbawa sa-bĕlai daun pisang sĕrta di-bĕntangkan ka-atas kĕpala M. T. Maka To' Sri Nara 'draja pun mĕmbacha surat sumpah yang bĕrnama surat chiri di-atas kĕpala M.T. Sa-tĕlah di-bacha, surat itu pun di-lĕtakkan ka-atas daun pisang itu. Lĕpas itu M.T. di-bawa naik ka-atas istana

This description omits mention of the *chiri* being read *di-badapan raja* (l.5 above in this text): but it shews what is meant by *mĕngĕnakan dia* here, i.e. the *chiri* was laid on the banana leaf which had been put on the head of the chief being installed

178. *sa-chĕpir baju:* one would expect instinctively *baju sa-chĕpir*, which is precisely what appears in l.16 below, and I suspect the text here. It is noteworthy that no reference is made here to the presentations mentioned on p. 159, ll.35-40, as customary on the appointment of a bendahara and other officers of state.

179. *di-kiri*.....(*Laksamana*): according to this text as it stands the Laksamana was in two places at the same time. The Sh. version differs appreciably, putting the Pĕngh Bĕndahari and the Laksamana at the head of the litter and the Sri Bija 'diraja (by himself) *pada rantai dĕkat kaki raja*.

180. *di-badapan raja sĕgala alat itu:* Sh. *di-badapan raja sĕgala bĕntara mĕmikul pĕdang dan di-badapan itu sĕgala orang bĕrlĕmbing*. This is evidently how the passage should run: *sĕgala alat itu* has crept into the MS by error.

181. *chogan:* see W. under *jogan*

182. *mĕngadap nobat:* see note 57, on *nobat*. I can find no information as to *sireh nobat* other than what is given here.

183. *pĕrtama anak raja-raja:* after this should have come *dan Bĕndahara* as in Sh.

184. *raja bĕrkerja:* festivities in honour of the marriage or circumcision of scions of the ruler

185. *di-balai*.....*balairuang:* Sh. omits *di-balai*. There is nothing in the S.M. to shew what distinction was made between *balai* and *balairuang*

186. *mĕnyurob mĕnguchap orang:* obscure. The MS has *مڤو مشوچاف* which presumably stands for *mĕnyurob mĕnguchapi*. Possibly *mĕnguchapi orang* means to 'call out the name' of a person to whom the Raja wished to speak, such person being present, as opposed to *mĕmanggil* 'sending for' someone not present?

These notes refer to pages 85—87 of Winstedt's romanized text: see footnote on p. 205 *antea*.

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187. *měngatur orang makan*: for a vivid description of how one particular Temenggong performed these duties see p.160, l.13, et seq.

188. *orang makan itu*: for a description of a royal banquet see *JMBRAS*, II, pt. 2, p.279.

189. *istemewa yang di-atas*: 'still less could people from above.....' The sense 'by how much the more/less', as the case may be, can also be conveyed by *ini pula* (cf. the saying *tidak bujan lagi bechak ini (kan) pula bujan*) and by *ini konon* as on p.168, l.33

189a. *sa-bidangan dēngan anak raja-raja*: it is noteworthy that according to Hang Tuah I, 84, the Temenggong shared the Bendahara's dish

189b. *měngarak*: ? sc. *Laksamana*, as in l.44 below

190. *bulan Ramdān malam dua-puloh tujuh*: see W. under *kadar* (*Lailat al-k.*)

191. *gantang-gantang*: other MSS *gěndang*. It is possible however that *gantang-gantang* is correct, as very great importance was attached to standard weights and measures, see Kedah Laws (op. cit.) p. 23.

192. *běsərbān.....jubbāh itu*: the MS is faulty: either —*lah* has been omitted after *itu* or an *r* after *jubbāh*

193. *di-arak oleh Pěnggh. Běndahari*: so Sh., but the MS has *di-arak masok di-rumah P. B.* (*di-rumah* evidently = *dari rumah* as commonly in colloquial Malay, e. g. *turun di-rumah*) and I have translated as in the MS.

194. *raja pun...gajab*: the MS has *raja pun bėrarak-lah dari dalam, kėluar di-atas gajab* and I have translated accordingly

195. *Běndahari*: read *Běndahara*. There was no such minister as the Běndahari: the title throughout the S.M. is Penghulu Běndahari

196. *naik*: the Raja was already on the *astaka*, so the sense here must be 'assisted the Raja on to the litter.' Sh. has *Běndahara sėgėra naik mėnyambut Raja naik ia ka-usongan*

197. *barat.....Tėrėngganu Ujong Karang*: Sh. has *arab ka-barat hingga Bėruas Ujong Karang, arab ka-timur had Tėrėngganu*

198. *anakanda yang muda*: why this Muhammadan Raja was succeeded on the throne by his younger son is not explained

199. *chuki.....bijau*: see P.M.S., Malay Amusements p. 58. I take it that in this instance the "sixty white pips" (mentioned therein) were 'red gems' (? rubies) and the "sixty black pips" were 'green gems' (? emeralds)

pėrmata buah-nya: Sh has the more usual *buah-nya pėrmata*

199a. *bėrpěnggang* cf. *pěnggang* on p.66, l.33 (note 85.)

200. *di-ambil mėnantu*: this comes in very abruptly there must be an omission in the MS. Sh. has *sa-tėlah datang ka-Malaka, lalu mėngadap Sultan Muhammad Shāh. Maka di-dudokkan baginda tara mėntėri. Tėlah itu di-ambil oleh Sėri Nara 'diraja....* He was apparently given the title Tun Bijaya Maha Mėntri, see p. 95, l.44

These notes refer to pages 87—90 of Winstedt's romanized text: see footnote on p. 205 *antea*.

201. *di-dudokkan*.....*tara Bëndabara*: not in Sh. and the text here is evidently corrupt as we read in l.21 *dudok di-bawab Bëndabara*. Moreover *di-turutkan* postulates some previous advice or request, as e.g. in l.7 on this page, and we are not told what it was, though it resulted in the Raja of Rēkan having to take a lower place.

202. *Maka anakanda baginda*: preceded in the MS by *Satēlah Sultan Muhammad Shab* مشيكت : this obviously has the same meaning as *mangkat*. Is it the same word? Hardly, one would think, as it (مشيكت) occurs again on p.215, l.40 and also on p.104 of the Sēri Rama (op. cit) and it is unlikely that *mangkat* would be misspelt not only in the S.M. but also in the Sēri Rama. See also note **80** referring to p.65, l.26

203. *mēmangku Sultan A.S.*: Sh. adds *mēmērentabkan nēgēri Malaka*

204. *ada sa-orang maulana*: Sh. has, more probably, *ada sa-orang saudagar, bērnama Maulana Jalalu'ddin*

204a. *Sapērti-nya* : ? read *dēngan sapērti-nya*

205. *Shukur-lah*: the MS has شكله = *suka-lah*

206. *sa-lama-nya di-ikut*: obscure. MS دايكت Sh. *sa-lama-nya pun hamba bēndak*.....

206a. *mēngējaka* : a polite way of saying 'kill' : cf. p.186, l.12 and see note on *kējakan* referring to p.193, l.25

207. *karna sangat sabur*: Sh. adds *lagi orang banyak sakit bati akan Raja Rēkan*

207a. *Kitab undang-undang*: R.O.W. agrees with me that this is the *Risalat Hukum Kanun* or *Undang-Undang Mēlaka* and he is amending accordingly what he says in his Malay Lit., p.112, regarding the date etc. of this Code

207b. *Radin Anum* : son of Sultan Megat, see p.82, l.47

207c. *dukachita pērgi* : Sh. has more correctly, *dukachita, la'u bērangkat*

208. *baginda tiada nobat*: see note **57** on *nobat*.

209. *tiada kēna kēja raja*: the inference is that he felt himself slighted by not being given any office at court. Cf. his own words (as Bendahara) on p.144, last line, *jikalau ēngkau tiada bērkēja raja, bēndak-lah ēngkau diam di-butan*. To one born at the court of Malacca living at Klang might well seem to be *diam di-butan*

210. *Bubunnya*: Cannot be identified as a Siamese title, unless it is a corruption of *Borama* which was part of the title borne by Siamese Kings in 15th century. Possibly the word is connected with Bana, a mid-15th c. Mon royal title, which has survived in Burmese as *binnya*

211. *surat sēmbah*: i. e. a letter in which the writer sends his *sēmbah* and thereby admits the overlordship of the Raja to whom he is writing. See note on *jikalau tua muda*..... *salam juga* on p. 85, l.28

212. *Awi Chakra*: not a personal name, cf. *Awi Dichu* on p.75. *Chakra* is an obsolete Siamese title = 'provincial administrator.'

These notes refer to pages **90—93** of Winstedt's romanized text: see footnote on p. 205 *antea*.

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213. *jikalau*: = *apabila* (there could be no question of Tun Perak not coming *mengadap*). Cf. *jikalau surat itu sudah di-bacha* on p. 142, l.37

214. *tanah Sēmudra*: should read *Pateh Sēmudra* as in the MS.

215. *Amarat*: Sh. *Amërta*. Neither word can be identified.

216. *pědang sa-bilah itu juga*: the phrase postulates previous mention of the *pědang*. The omission in the MS is supplied by Sh. and what should have been written here is

Hai, Sëri Amarat, (akan) tuan hamba (di-jadi-kan yang di-pěrtuan bëntara, di-anugèrabi pědang sa-bilah) pědang sa-bilah itu juga bëndak-lah.....

217. *kami orang bërķërja*: Sh. adds *ini*. The words *orang bërķërja (ini)* define *kami*

218. *di-mana tuan hamba tabu*: cf: the *mu tabu dëwana (di-mana)* = 'how do you know?' of contemporary Kelantan Malay

219. *pada fikir*: so Sh., but the MS has *فكره*
pěkertti

220. *apa hisab-ku pada-nya*: Sh. *apa hisab pada kami sakalian* i.e. 'what concern is it of ours (down there in Klang) ?'. The *-ku* here is clearly erroneous and should be omitted: the sentence then means what concern is it of *theirs* (i.e. of the men of Klang in Klang) ?' His argument is 'people in Klang may not be greatly concerned over what happens to distant Malacca. But bring the men of Klang up to Malacca with their womenfolk and they will fight well, incidentally for the Raja though principally to preserve their womenfolk from falling into the enemy's hands.'

221. *di-ambil.....sireh puan*: Sh. has, more correctly, *di-ambil baginda sireh dari puan baginda.....bëri-kan kapada Tun Perak*. For the importance attached to this mark of royal favour cf. the story of Tun Bayajit on p. 151. It was an Indian custom, see Malik Muhammad, Jaisi, ed. A.G. Shirreff, p. 293

222. *tiada-lah alab*: the *-lah* is not in the MS and should be omitted

223. *di-himpunkan-nya*: Sh. *di-champakkan-nya*, which is more probable, for why should they have 'collected together' the rattans? Possibly *دهمشكنش* of the MS is an error for *دهمشكنش* 'they flung them down'? See note on *di-himpun-kan-nya* on p. 149, l.3

223a. *itu-lah.....Rotan Siam* : must mean 'a clump of rattans known as the rattans of the Siamese', i.e. not a different species of rattan called *rotan Siam* : no such species seems to be known. Were the reference to a place, the words *těmpat itu* would probably have been inserted (cf. p.82, l.15) No place of that name exists nowadays on the Muar river.

224. *kayu bara*: so Maxwell MS 26, but Sh. and all the other MSS have *kayu ara*

225. *Tuan, Sëri Amarat*: the opening sentence of this speech should read as on p.94, see note **216** on *pědang sa-bilah juga* on p.94, l.27

These notes refer to pages **94—95** of Winstedt's romanized text: see footnote on p. 205 *antea*.

225a. *baik juga...tabu*: obscure. Sh. has *baik juga pada kami, maka kami kĕrjakan, karna yang di-pĕrtuan tabu akan baik-nya juga pada kami tiada tabu akan jabat-nya*. The word *jabat* here apparently means 'what is difficult or unpleasant' (*pabit maung-nya*) and the sense of the passage seems to be as in the translation, though I am not altogether satisfied about it

226. *bĕndak mĕnchĕrcha akan kami*: so Sh., but the MS has *دڠن دڠن کام دڠن اکن* (*mĕngacharakan kami dĕngan dia*), see note on l.31. The *dĕngan dia* clearly refers to the man who made the complaint, cf. *Tun P. P. pun bĕrachara dĕngan dagang itu pada Bĕndabara* on p.163, last line but one.

227. *pĕchat-lab hamba dabulu*: the MS adds *dari Kĕlang itu*

228. *ajarkan*: surely *acharakan* as in Raffles MS 80?

229. *sa-bagai mana hamba di-ajarkan*: the MS adds *dĕngan sa-bagai hamba* and I take the whole sentence to read *sa-bagai mana hamba di-achara-kan dĕngan sa-bagai hamba*. If the *dĕngan* refers to the man who made the complaint (see note on *mĕnchĕrcha* above), the argument seems to be 'as long as I am headman of Klang, I refuse to be brought to judgment by a' man who is *sa-bagai hamba*'

230. *dudok di-balai*: his own *balai*? See note on *kĕluar-lab ka-penghadapan* on p. 44, l.9

231. *tiada muafakat*: this laconic statement is considerably amplified in Sh.

231a. *pada Sĕri Nara 'diraja* : should read as in the MS *pada-nya, mohon juga ia*

231b. *Tun Kudu*: see p.93, l.17

232. *di-mana.....tabu*: see note on p.94, l.30. This was no idle boast on the S.N. di-raja's part: he had several children' by Tun Kudu, see p.116, l.21

233. *sĕdia anak Bĕndabara*: see p. 93, l.19

234. *orang bijaksana.....nama-nya*: the meaning apparently is 'there were three outstandingly able administrators at that time, the B.P.R. in Malacca, (and the then holders of the offices of) Pateh A. G. M. in Majapahit and Raja Kenyan in Pasai.' That P.A.G.M. was an office and not an individual person appears from p.101, l.37, and it seems unlikely that the Raja Kenyan mentioned here is the same individual as the Raja Kenyan mentioned on p.126, l.40. It is noticeable that Bendahara Sri Maharaja 'the grandest of all the Bendaharas' (p. 160, l.44 is not described as *bijaksana* despite the tribute to his qualities as an administrator on p.159, l.42, et sq.

235. *Sĕri Nara 'diraja pun mĕnjadi Pengh. Bĕndahari*: So Sh., but why repeat what we have already been told at the foot of p.89?

236. *datang-lab*: Sh., more correctly, *datang pula*, as this was the second attack (incidentally, *pace* R.O.W., p.20, both the Siamese attacks are described in Sh.)

237. *bĕrlĕngkap*: as the second Siamese attack was by sea, *bĕrlĕngkap* here has its usual S.M. meaning of 'making ships ready': but for once in a way we are given no details of the fleet.

238. *Muntab Lĕmbu*: see p.56, l.31

These notes refer to pages 95—96 of Winstedt's romanized text: see footnote on p. 205 *antea*.

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239. *nyireb.....tumu.....api-api*: there seem to be no English equivalents for these trees, all of which grow close to the sea shore.

239a. *měmbuat*: MS *měmabat*

240. *di-nyanyikan orang*: the verse which follows is transposed in Sh. to follow the death of Chau Pandan

240a. *Ada chinchin.....ayer mata*: obscure. In Sh. the last line is *Bunga bēladong si-ayer mata*. W. translates the verse (see under *ladong*) but his translation in the 1932 edition differs from that in the earlier edition. I doubt the correctness of either. I suspect the text and have merely to give the sense required by the context

241. *mati*: MS *sudab mati*

242. *Sultan Muzaffar Shab pun mēmbēri titah*: the story that follows is told in Sh. (pp.87-8) of Sultan Mansur

243. *Lalai mana butan di-kēlati*: this verse to be intelligible should run

*Lalai-lalai, mana butan?
Butan lagi di-kēlati;
Kakak Tun Tēlanai, mana pungutan?
Pungutan lagi di-Tanjong Jati !*

I am in debt to R.O.W. for the elucidation of it

244. *sēmbah.....salam.....kaseh*: for *sēmbah* see note on *surat sēmbah* on p. 93. *Salam* 'greetings' as from equals to each other when both are Muhammadans, cf. *jika'au tua muda sa-kali pun bērkirim salam juga* of the rulers of Malacca, Pasai and Haru on p.125, l.40. *Kaseh* 'friendship' as from equals to each other where the person addressed is a non-Muhammadan (?) cf. *surat kaseh daripada Bēndabara datang kapada Adi Bērakēlang* on p.217, l.23. Why Sultan Muzaffar would not send a *surat kaseh* in this instance is not clear.

244a. *di-suroh arak*: not a flight of fancy on the part of the writer, as must surely be the description on p.223, l.25, but an established practice in Siam at this period

245. *datang kapada.....*: the MS has *datangkan orang mēmbawa epok dan kēmēndēlima* (sic: should *kēmēndēlam* as on p. 210, l.35)

246. *gajah di-kēpilkan*: the highest honours in fact, see p. 85, l.26

247. *mēngambil di-atas bēlakang-nya*: for a similar story see Hang Tuah II, p.250

248. *gila-gila*: MS كل بلا which I take to represent كبل (kēbal bēlaka)

248a. *jabat...baik-baik*: the reference here is not to moral qualities but to breeding. *Orang jabat* means here, as on p.183, l.21, 'a man of the people' in contrast to *orang baik-baik* 'men of good family.' *Baik-baik* in that sense is common in colloquial Malay and it is odd that W. does not note it.

249. *Mari-lab.....*: Sh. *mari kita mēngadap: beta-lab bērdatang sēmbah.....* But the MS has سديكيت مفادف سجار

These notes refer to pages 97—99 of Winstedt's romanized text: see footnote on p. 205 *antea*.

which I read as *sědia kita mēngadap sa-chara aběntara-lab běrdatang sěmbab*. This seems to mean 'all we have to do is to present ourselves (before the king) like heralds and submit a request'.

250. *muga-muga*: see note **30** on *moga-moga*.

251. *kěmudian maka orang Siam*: *Proximus huic. longo sed proximus intervallo* in fact. *Maka* here, as often in the S.M., = *baharu*. See also note on p.144, l.1 of the text.

252. *katib*: so Sh., but the MS has the usual spelling *khatib*

253. *Ada-pun.... Laksamana*: not in Sh. No Laksamana of the name of Tun 'Ali Haru is mentioned later.

254. *Radin Galoh Awi Kěsuma*: subsequently described as *Putěri Nai Kěsuma*

255. *Aku ini raja Tanjong Pura*: the copyist has evidently strayed here, for (a) the boy was not the Raja of T.P. but his son (b) in no conceivable circumstances could he have spoken of himself as *aku* in this context (he always refers to himself subsequently as *bamba*). Sh. has, correctly, *bamba anak raja T.P.*

255a. *Sang Maniaka* : see p. 56, ll.21 et sqq.

255b. *pěrmāin* : an unusual use of *pěr-*. ? a mere slip of the pen for *běrmāin* which Sh has

255c. *měnyampang*: Sh. *sa-nyampang*

256. *sa-pala*: Sh. *sa-pala-pala* which is the more usual form of the word. Cf. the saying (*sa*) *pala-pala mandi, biar basab* (if you are going to have a bath, get wet)

257. *di-timang-nya*: cf. *Raja Muṣaffar Sbab itu-lab di-timangkan baginda akan ganti baginda* on p. 194, l.29. In both cases the reference is to a young boy. Here the sense seems to be 'to say in fun', (when dandling a child) but p. 194 the word seems to mean 'designate'. Cf. also *pěri timang* on p. 103, l.26

258. *di-jadikan P.A.G.M.*: see note 234 on *tiga orang*

259. *sa-těngah orang běrkata*: the MS adds *měmuji*, hence *měngatakan* in the next line

260. *lompati*: so Sh., but the MS has *جثاني* ? *chěmpāni*, a verb irregularly formed from *chěmpāna* with the meaning 'carry off in a litter'

261. *sěgala něgěri*: Sh. has *běrkěliling něgěri dan pěminggir Majapahit* which is clearly more correct

262. *měntěri*: the MS has *فرتري* presumably an error for *paraměntěri*

263. *Kurang-kurang*: see note on *kurang ia běrlawan-kan* on p.94

264. *Mana-tab janji*: should, I think, read *Mana-tab janii paduka batara dengan aku* (sic: ? *kula*) *dabulu běndak menjadikan kula*.....

265. *mudab-mudaban*: here used in its usual optative sense, in contrast to the instances on pp. 71 and 76

266. *pěri timang*: see note on *di-timang-nya* on p. 101. Sh. here has *měminang*, presumably an error for *měnimang*.

267. *maka mau*: MS *jika mau paman*

These notes refer to pages **99—103** of Winstedt's romanized text: see footnote on p. 205 *antea*.

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268. *kělěngkapan Singapura juga*: the significance of *juga* here is obscure. Sh. has the same but adds *dan Sungei Raya pun dēmikian juga*

269. *pěrwire*: MS *pěrwire-nya*. For *pěrwire* see note **14a** on *bulubalang*

270. *tiada tērturut*: Sh. has *tiada boleh bērtara, barang laku-nya tiada tērturut oleh orang lain* which is better

271. *chērdēk dan pērka*: the MS adds *jika ia bērmāin daripada orang lain*

272. *jika ia mēmēngkis*: obviously out of place. Sh. puts the events in their right order with *jika ia bērgurau sama muda-muda, maka di-sengseng-nya tangan baju-nya, maka ia mēmēngkis kata-nya*.....

272a. *Tunggal* : should read *Tungkal*, which is north-east of Jambi

272b. *sēgala raja-raja* : the translation follows the MS which reads *orang Pēlēm̄bang dan Raja Indēragiri dan Raja Jambi dan Raja Tungkal dan Raja Lingga*

272c. *jērdana mēntēri* : read *paramēntēri*

273. *Daba*: in East Java

274. *kēris itu*: the details of this story, whether in this text or in Sh., are far from clear. If *kēris itu* is the *kēris ganja kērawang* mentioned above, what happened to it when it was given to the Raja of Daba? Forty-one creeses in all are mentioned but only forty were stolen. And was the sheath of *kēris itu* broken? We are not told that it was; but if it wasn't, why did it ever leave the Raja of Daba's keeping, to become available for presentation to the Raja of T.P.?

274a. *pērawang*: see note **42a** referring to p.56, l.45 of text.

275. *di-tambat-nya*: it is hardly likely that the Batara himself tied the dog there: Sh. adds *maka sēgala bamba raja dudok di-bawah* and it is evidently they who tied the dog

276. *pēdikir*: MS *فديكر* which I read as *pēdekar*, see W. under *pēndekar* and cf. *laku-nya sapērti pēdekar mēnari* on p.160, l.16

277. *pēlbagai laku-nya*: after these words the MS has *دگر تفق* *فريسين* and the sentence should read *di-gērtak-nya pērisai-nya (kapada) anjing itu*..... as in Sh.?

278. *Mari kita*....*larangan ini*: Sh. adds pertinently *ada-kah kita di-turunkan orang atau tidak?*

279. *tētak-nya*: should read *di-tētak-nya*

280. *gēmpar*: another of the words occurring constantly in the S.M. for which it is hard to find any one English equivalent suitable in every instance. E.g. in *orang pun gēmpar habis bērlarian sana sini* on p.111, l.29 'panic' is possible as a rendering: but 'panic' will not do here nor in *jika ia ka-paseban, di-paseban gēmpar* on page 106, ll.9-10. "Excitement" is perhaps the nearest English equivalent. Cf. Hkt. R.R. Pasai, p.6. l.24 *di-surob-nya gēmparkan*.....*kērbau jalang itu* 'he ordered his men to stampede the wild buffaloes'

These notes refer to pages **104—106** of Winstedt's romanized text: see footnote on p. 205 *antea*.

281. *orang pasar pun gẽmpar*: should read *orang di-pasar pun gẽmpar* and then should go on *dan jika ia pẽrgi pada kampong orang, maka sẽgala orang di-kampong itu gẽmpar*: *sẽgala Jawa itu pun bairan mẽmandang laku-nya* as in the MS. The sentence *dan sẽgala pẽrẽmpuan Jawa... Hang Tuah itu* is not in the MS.

282. *mẽngintai*: MS *mẽnenggok dia*

283. *Onya surub*.....: for this and the other passages in Javanese which follow, see APPENDIX A

284. *mẽnyuroh orang bẽrjaga-jaga*: I suspect the text. In previous instances (on pp. 58, 73 and 78) the expression is (*baginda*) *mẽmula-i pẽrkẽrjaan bẽrjaga-jaga*, and I fancy *mẽnyuroh orang* here refers to the music mentioned in the next sentence, especially as according to the MS that sentence runs *Maka sẽgala bunyi-bunyan pun bẽrbunyi-lab. gẽndir*.....*madali*: impossible to translate for lack of English equivalents

285. *sapu-sapu ringin*: see P.M.S., Life and Customs, Pt. 3, Malay Amusements, p.77. The playing of this game was evidently suggested with a view to annoying the Javanese as it involved stretching out the legs (*bẽrlunjur*); the result appears in ll.36-7 below.

285a. *bẽranjur*: should read *bẽlunjur*?

286. *di-larang kata-nya*..... *Batara*: Dr. Hooikaas conjectures *tantapi dak tempiling kau sirno* '.....? I will give you such a box on the ear as will destroy you' *Tantapi* cannot be identified.

287. *gila-kah kami*: elliptic. "Should we have dared to play? We are not mad!" Sh. has *bẽrani-kah kami*. Cf. *gila apa-kah patek mẽnaroh dia?* on p.112, l.32 (note 309).

Biar-nya bẽrmain: Sh. *biar dia bẽrmain*. The use of *nya* here for *dia* is characteristic of the Malay of Kelantan and Trengganu

288. *badlir mẽnagap*: the MS adds *Sultan Mansur Shab pun ada badlir*.

288a. *Pada Sultan Mansur Shab*: the MS has *pada Tun Bijaya Sura*

289. *kẽris Batara*: according to Sh. the royal betel-bearer *wore* a royal creese and it was that creese that Tun Bijaya Sura managed to filch, not the Batara's own creese carried by the betel-bearer as suggested by this text

290. *Maka titab*: preceded in the MS by *Maka Tun Bijaya Sura pun di-panggil oleh Batara*

290a. *mẽnjadi* تدي : MS منجاوتي *mẽnjawab dia*

290b. *mohonkan Indẽragiri*: the MS adds *kapada Batara Majapahit*

291. *di-alpa*: MS Leyden translates 'if you give it, is well (dalam)': but no such word as *dalap* or *di-alap* can be traced and *di-alpa*, a verb formed from *alpa* 'negligent', makes no sense. The meaning is obviously the same as that of *digqad* in l.38 below, 'it is well'

292. *Kita anugẽrahkan*: this 'gift' seems to have had disastrous consequences for the ruler of Indragiri (Maharaja Mẽrlang, says Sh., *tiada di-bẽri kẽmbali* and he died in Malacca, see p. 164, l.33, while his son Raja Nara Singa only succeeded in returning by 'making his escape', see p.165, l.10) and for the retinue who accompanied

These notes refer to pages 106—110 of Winstedt's romanized text: see footnote on p. 205 *antea*.

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him, see p.139, l.6 *měmbawa orang Indēragiri akan mēnēbas jalan* and the opening paragraph of ch. XVIII on p.164

293. *jangankan....*: should read *jangankan...Indēragiri ini, sēgala Jawa itu pun siapa - tab ēmpunya dia jika'au tiada.... Malaka?*

294. *yang bērgēlar*: i.e. subsequently, see p.197, l.40

295. *Ratu di-Kēlang*: Sh. *Radin Kēlang* and Sultan Mansur on his deathbed speaks of him as *anak kita Raja Radin*, see p.137, l.14

296. *mēnurun*: MS *mēnuruni*. It appears that *mēnuruni dia* means 'lower himself.'

297. *maka* دادر *orang-lab*: MS داور which is untraceable. Sh. *di-tarek*

298. *dēmam*: Sh. pertinently adds *tērkokol-kokol* 'had shivering fits': some such word is needed to explain why the 'young men laughed at him'.

299. *Sa-tēlah di-libat....di-usir-nya*: represents, it would seem, *Sa-tēlah H. Tuah di-libat oleh Jawa itu, maka oleh Jawa itu lalu di-usir-nya*

300. *bērkēndak*: acc to Sh. this was only a canard, *di-katakan ia bērkēndak*; and Leyden translates 'he was wrongfully accused of having seduced.....'

301. *di-suroh bunoh*: because he had by his conduct polluted the palace, as Hang Kasturi was to do subsequently?

302. *Sa-tēlah sa-tabun*: should read *Sa-tēlah sudah sa-tabun*

303. *bantal tilam*: MS بطل تالم (*batil talam*). *Batak* (باتك) a copying error for باتل (*batil*)

304. *di-atas talam....ia bērjalan*: according to Hang Tuah III, 98, to prevent himself being stabbed from underneath through the floor

305. *kēndak-nya di-bēlah-nya*: Sh. *kēndak-nya itu pun di-bunoh-nya, di-hiris-nya*... Probably *di-bunoh-na* has been omitted by error here, cf. *di-libat....sudah di-bunoh-nya* on p.113, l.37

306. *mēngēnang*: W. paraphrases Sh. *Sultan M.S. pun mēngēnang-ngēnang Laksamana* as 'a Sultan mourning a dead chief.' But Malays frequently use *tērkēnangkan* with the meaning 'mention' without any implication of regret and the words that follow in l.27 suggest that *mēngēnang* here means 'speak of' rather than 'think of.' cf. *tērkēnang* on p. 204, l.39

307. *Sayang-nya si-Tuah tiada*: 'it is sad that Tuah is no more'; not 'is not here': Sultan Mansur believed him to be dead

308. *Sa-tēlah....*: preceded in the MS by *Maka Sēri Nara 'diraja diam mēnēngar titab itu* and I have translated accordingly

309. *gila apa-kab*: cf. *gila-kab kami* on p. 108, l.39 (note 287).

310. *sapērti bukit*: Sh. *sapērti Bukit Kaf*

310a. *tētapī*: makes no sense. ? an error for *tatkala* which Sh. has

311. *oleh patek-patek*: Sh. *sēbab itu-lab maka patek taroh pada dusun, patek pasong*. Evidently the intention was to write

These notes refer to pages 110—113 of Winstedt's romanized text: see footnote on p. 205 *antea*.

something similar here, ? *maka oleb (itu) patek (tarob pada dusun) patek pasong*

312. *yang sempurna hamba*: Sh. *hamba yang sempurna*. Cf. *Tuan hamba* (? *hamba*) *yang sempurna* on p.121, l.12 (note 365).

313. *měmanggil*: ? *měngambil* as in Sh.

314. *těranggar-anggar*: ? *teranggau-anggau*

315. *Sa-tělab datang*: Sh. adds *di-anugěrabi baginda ayapan*

315a. *Ada-kab*: MS *ada-lab* 'So you are still alive'

315b. *maka* : = *sěbab itu*, cf. *ku-sangka běrani Sěri Bija 'diraja, maka aku mau naik pěrabu-nya* on p.146 l.44 and see R.O.W. Malay Grammar, p.161, (4), II. See also note on *maka tiada tabu* referring to p.144, l.1 and cf. p.220, l.7

316. *banya kita běrtěmu*: in other words, *a nous deux maintenant !*

317. *Jikalau ěngkau*: preceded in the MS by *Bagaimana aku akan naik?* *Babaru dua tiga kali* (?) (MS كال) *mata tangga ěngkau těrpa aku* and I have translated accordingly

318. *těrmasa*: see note 29.

319. *Di-mana pula dēmikian*: the English slang "nothing doing!"

320. *Maka Hang Tuah*: either there is an omission here of some such words as *pun naik-lab* or there should be no comma after *Tuah* and the second *Hang Tuah* in this sentence should go out

321. *běrotar-otar*: the same word as *utar* in l.32 (where Sh. has *utar-utar*)

322. مسكين : so the MS, but surely كسيه as in Sh. was intended?

323. *Muga-muga*: see note 30.

324. *Sa-tělab Hang Kasturi mati*: after these words Sh. has *maka Hang Tuah pun turun-lab dari istana itu mēngadap Sultan M.S.*, thus supplying an evident omission in this text

325. *pakaian yang di-pakai baginda*: it looks as though this was the 'special mark of favour' mentioned in note on *di-pěrsalimi* on p.43

326. *sěgala anak istěri-nya*: I conjecture that what was intended here was

sěgala anak istěri-nya, habis (di-bunoh rumah-nya pun) di-rombak (?), *datang-kan tanah kaki tiang-nya pun*.....

327. *Sěri Nara 'diraja*: should read as in Sh., *Seri Bija 'diraja*, see l.23

328. *'adat dabulu kala*: see p.85, l.18

329. sěndiri مٹا ندي : ? an error for مٹا ندي (mēngadapi dia) which Sh. has

329a. *běsar istana itu*.....*di-sirap*: for the translation of this highly technical and difficult passage I am indebted to R.O.W.

329b. *kēmunchak-nya*: the MS adds *pun tujoh*

329c. *antara*: MS *sěgala*

329d. *siapa-siapa*: read *sayap-sayap*

These notes refer to pages 113—114 of Winstedt's romanized text: see footnote on p. 205 *antea*.

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329e. *tingkap*: MS تفكو ? *tongkop* 'spire'

330. *rumah*: Sh. *istana*, evidently right

331. *melibat*: MS دمليهت read *di-libat*

331a. *raja-raja*: as Sh., but surely it should be *bamba raja* as in l.7?

331b. *asal sida-sida*: confutes W.'s definition of *sida-sida* as 'court eunuchs'

332. *sa-jěngkal*: should be *sa-jěngkal tiga jari*, cf. p.114

332a. *Maka sěgala raja-raja dalam istana*: evidently the copyist has nodded here. ? he meant to write *Maka sěgala harta raja (tinggal) dalam istana*. For an intelligible version of this corrupt passage see Sh. XVI, pp.115-6

333. *dapat selat*: MS برسلت. It is evident from the context that this must stand for something to wear, and despite the spelling I think برسلت must represent *běrsalut*, i.e. *kěris běrsalut* (see W. under *salut*. Cf. Sh. XV (p.190) where the reward given to Nakhoda Saidi Ahmad (this text p.173, l.29) is described as *di-anugěrah persalin...kěris běrsalut dan pědang bėrikat mas*. That passage suggests that *pědang* here = *pědang bėrikat mas*

334. *Maka orang Ungaran.....kota orang* (l.18): I conjecture the following reading (words in square brackets are in the MS but omitted in the text):—

Maka orang Unguran [dan orang Tungal] buat istana sěrtanya orang Panchur Sěrapong bėrbuat balairuang; balai mēndapa orang Suir bėrbuat dia; balai apit pintu yang dari kanan orang Sudar buat dia; balai apit pintu yang di-kiri itu orang Sayong bėrbuat dia; (? balai) gěndang orang Apong bėrbuat dia; dan gajah (? mēnyusu) orang Měrba bėrbuat dia; pėnanggaban orang Sawang bėrbuat dia; dan pėmandian orang Tungal bėrbuat dia; dan masjid orang Těntai bėrbuat dia; pintu pagar istana orang Muda bėrbuat dia; dan kota orang.....? (? bėrbuat dia). [Ada pun istana itu baik pula daripada dabulu. Sa-tělah sudahlah sakalian-nya itu, maka Sultan Mansur Shah pun mē-anugěrah sěgala orang yang bėrkěra itu. Maka baginda pun diam-lah di-istana babaru, karar-lah sa-lama-lama-nya] and I have translated accordingly

335. *bėranak děngan Tun Kudu*: thus realising the expectations foreshadowed on p. 96, l.22 !

336. *Tun Tabir*: became Sri Nara 'diraja', p.122

337. *Tun Mutabir*: became Bendahara Sri Maharaja, 'the grandest of all the Bendaharas', pp. 159—60

338. *Tun 'Abdul.....těrlalu olaban*: for details see p.122, l.20 et sqq.

339. *Tun Naja*: married Sultan Ala'u'd-din, p.139

340. *bingkis-nya jarum*: lest it should be thought that the Raja of Malacca, Sh. adds *lain daripada itu sutěra bėnang mas kėmkha dewangga děngan bėbėrapa bėnda yang gharib* and for *kapada* in l.35 below substitutes *ka-atas mahkota* !

These notes refer to pages 114—116 of Winstedt's romanized text: see footnote on p. 205 *antea*.

341. *gagak*: evidently there is an omission here. Sh. has *maka datang gagak suatu kawan, tiada tērbisakkan banyak-nya*

341^a. *turun masok*: read *turut masok*

342. *bērbunyi-lab guroh*: the Emperor of China was *Raja langit*, (see R.O.W., *Malay Magician*, p.36)

343. *sa-orang orang*: MS *sa-orang sa-orang*: Sh. has, more correctly, *sa-orang sa-biji*

344. *istimewa aku pula*: so Sh., but the MS has the more usual *istimewa pula aku*

345. *Barang siapa*: Sh. has, more probably, *barang siapa mēntēri Cbina*

346. *kabadapan.....makan-lab*: so the MS, but what was intended, I think, was

ka-badapan Tun P. P., maka Tun P. P. dēngan sēgala orang Mēlayu pun sēmula-nya makan-lab

347. *Ling*: referred to subsequently as Hang Liu

348. *anak putēra*: ? *anak mēntēri*, cf. *فترتي* = *paramēntēri* on p. 102. l.20

349. *mēngbantarkan anakanda baginda*: the MS adds *Putēri Hang Liu itu dan bēbērapa ratus dayang-dayang yang baik rupa-nya sērta anakanda baginda itu*. I have translated accordingly.

349^a. *di-suroh baginda*: according to Sh. the Sultan himself went out to meet her.

349^b. *mēlihat*: Sh. *mēlibat paras*. Evidently *rupa* or *paras* has been omitted here by error: cf. *mēlibat rupa putēri* on p.45, l.13

350. *mēntēri China yang lima ratus itu*: if these are the *lima ratus anak putēra* (? *mēntēri*) *yang muda-muda* in ll.12 above, *mēntēri* here should be *anak mēntēri* as in Sh.?

351. *mēntēri*: must be the *mēntēri yang tērbesar* of ll.12—3 above

352. *Tun Tēlanai dan Mēntēri Jana Putēra*: previously sent as envoys to Siam, p. 98. For the title *Tun Tēlanai* see p.214 ll.14—15.

353. *Bērkirim sēmbab-kab*: see note on *surat sēmbab* on p.93

354. *mēnyērang Pabang*: according to Sh. it was because Sultan Mansur had heard such favourable accounts of Pahang, its mineral wealth, fauna etc. that 'he greatly desired to possess it.'

355. *Bērapa lama-nya bērpērang.....dēngan mudah-nya*: these two statements do not go well together unless it was the writer's intention to describe a sudden turn of fortune, in which case one would have expected *muga-muga* instead of *maka* before *dēngan* (*takdir*), as at the foot of p.99. Sh. omits the former statement.

356. *sērta*: the MS has *سمي* as on p.130, l.26, see note thereon Again on p.149, l.3 what appears in the text as *sambi(l)* is written as *سمي* in the MS. A misspelling of *sambil* can hardly

These notes refer to pages 117—119 of Winstedt's romanized text: see footnote on p. 205 *antea*.

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have occurred in all three cases and it looks as though there was a word *sambi* (? *sēmbi*) now obsolete with the same meaning as *sambil*

357. *Kira-kira*: Sh. has *karna M.D.S. ini sudah aku kira-kirakan nama-nya di-bawah nama-ku.* ? a reference to the system of divination described by Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p.559

358. *Maharaja Sura minta nasi*: MS *ia minta nasi Maharaja Sura* which is better, as it clear from what follows that he must have mentioned his name. Sh. has *M.D.S. pun mēnyurob minta nasi*: the messenger would probably have asked for rice "for the M.D.S."

359. *Jikalau kētabuan*:? repunctuate thus *Jikalau kētabuan ia ada di-rumah-ku, apa bal-ku?* *Dēmikian ini, baik-lah*.....

360. *Sēri Bija 'diraja pun*...: the facts are presented here in the wrong order and there are evidently some omissions in the MS. After comparing Sh. I suggest the following reconstruction of the passage

Maka S.B. 'diraja pun di-titabkan oleh Sultan M.S. diam di-Pahang, di-anugērahi gēndang nobat sērulai nafiri mēlainkan negēra juga yang tiada, dan di-anugērahi payong iram-iram bērapit oleh jasa-nya mēnangkap M.S. itu. Maka S. B. 'diraja pun pērgi-lah ka-Pahang dan apabila ia kēluar dari Malaka, lēpas Pulau Bēsar, maka S. B. 'diraja pun bērnobat-lah. Tēlah sampai ka-Pahang, maka ia-lah mēmērentab-kan Pahang itu

I have tried in the translation, by means of interpolations in brackets, to bring out the true meaning

361. *kēluar dari Malaka*: he could not have his ruler's drum beaten within earshot of Sultan Mansur, cf. *sa-bingga tiada-lah kēdēngaran nobat*..... of Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jamal of Pahang after he had abdicated in chagrin, p.176, ll. 11—13

362. *di-nobat-lah*: the MS has the odd بر نوبتله which is presumably an error for *bērnobat-lah*. On p.177, l.20 what has been romanized as *nobat-lah* appears in the MS as بوتياله : this also looks like an error for بر نوبتله (*bērnobat-lah*) The S.M. has *di-nobatkan* frequently but not *di-nobat*. The meaning here is 'he had his royal drum beaten' in exercise of his newly acquired privilege: see note 57 on *nobat*, and cf. *baginda pun nobat-lah di-Kēdab* on p.163, l.35

363. *dēmikian juga*: The MS adds *pērasaan bamba sapērti dalam kērajaan juga*.

364. *orang tua ini*: Sh. *Kēling tua ini!*

365. *tuan bamba yang sēmpurna*: should read *tuan bamba bamba yang sēmpurna*. Cf. p.112, l.44

366. *Kata Sēri Rama*: we are not told that he said. Sh. supplies the omission viz. *Ada juga orang yang tabu di-dalam nēgēri ini*, the suggestion clearly being that someone was casting a spell which prevented the re-capture of Kenchinchi.

366a. *di-ambil orang-lah*: i.e. Maharaja Sura did not himself capture the elephant but when he was released he withdrew the spell (see note 366 on l.24 above)

These notes refer to pages 119—122 of Winstedt's romanized text: see footnote on p. 205 *antea*.

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367. *chětĕria*.....*bětĕtapan*: See note **14^a** on *bulubalang* on p.45 l.1, and also p.177, l.23

368. *Tambahan ia sĕdia anak adek*: not in Sh. and obscure. Can only mean "Moreover they are already your children." I take the words as merely a compliment to a great friend (see p. 96, l.26 *bĕrkaseh sapĕrti saudara sa-jalan jadi*)

368^a. *ĕmpat orang mĕmbawa dia*: i.e. each chest was a load for four men ? Sh. has *lima buah chandu pĕti, dua-dua orang mĕmbawa dia*

368^b. *nakara*: a special mark of honour : contrast p.120, l.33

369. *pada bĕrbuang-buangkan*.....: I read this passage as follows

pada bĕrbuang-buangkan (kuku),tiga hari maka sudah: jika bĕrkuda, pada bayang-bayang panas: (pada) mĕmbaiki diri-nya, bĕrpĕnanak; tĕrlalu sa-kali olah-nya

bĕrpĕnanak: cf. *bĕrpĕnanak Sultan Mahmud Shah mĕnanti di-pĕngkalan* on p.152, l.45 and see R.O.W. Malay Grammar, sec. 51 (3)

369^a. *Ya tuanku* سوكڤيا : ? read *Ya tuan-ku Sĕri Kopiah*, see W. under *kopiah*

369^b. *ayabanda*.....*anakanda*: evidently these words should be transposed

369^c. *Raja Ujong Tanah*: Sh. *raja Malaka*. This is the first mention of Ujong Tanah in the S.M., but it appears again on p.127, l.9 evidently with a wider meaning than "Southern Johor" (W.), viz. to cover Malacca and all the territory to the south (? even including Bentan, see p.207, l.8 and note thereon). It appears to have this meaning on p.217, ll.28 and 40 but to be used for Southern Johor only on p.217, last line

370. *bĕrkĕmbar*: so Sh. The MS has برسمبر ? *bĕrsĕmbir* or merely a copyist's error for برکمبر

371. *di-timpai-nya*: MS دتمفاينڤ ? *di-tumpahi-nya*. On p.147, l.36 the same word occurs. Sh. here has *di-tĕmpoh-nya*

372. *Tun Bĕsar pun moti-lah*: Sh. adds *Maka gĕmpar-lah anak buah Bĕndahara P.R., sĕmua-nya kĕluar dĕngan alat sĕnjata-nya*. This explains the Bendahara's question *Apa-tah*..... *bĕrlĕngkap* in this text in l.6 below.

373. *bĕrlĕngkap*: one of the every few instances in the S.M. of *bĕrlĕngkap* not meaning 'make ready ships', see note **51**.

374. *bĕndak dĕrbaka-lah ka-bukit*: i.e. if you are going to turn against the Raja's son (*busut*), you will be turning against the Raja himself (*bukit*)

375. *Nyit*: MS نيت : unidentifiable. Sh. *cheb*

376. *ka-Pabang*: i.e. from Pahang, see p.120, l.35

377. *Sĕri Nara 'diraja*: a copyist's error for *Sĕri Bija 'diraja*

378. *Pasai, Haru*: see note **172**.

379. *di-bachakan-nya sĕmbah*: as on p.146.

380. *sĕga'a nĕgĕri*: Sh. adds pertinently *di-tanah Mĕngkasar*.

These notes refer to pages **122—126** of Winstedt's romanized text: see footnote on p. 205 *antea*.

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380^a. *Maka baginda*: before this the MS has *Sa-tēlab Sultan Mansur Shab mēnēngar khabar itu*

380^b. *bujan*: appears in the MS as *bujang*, see Introduction, p. 11.

381. *Raja Kēnayan*: see note **234** on *tiga orang*.

382. *jika dēkat*: the MS adds *kēlak*

383. *bērtumit*: Sh. *bērtumat* which cannot be identified

384. *tēpis*: better *tētas* (as in Sh.). He was now going to do what the Laksamana had done on p.126, l.33

385. *batu tolak bara-nya*: see W. under *bahara*. Sh. has *suatu tolak bara-nya*. The story is evidently a tribute to Semerluki's strength, p. 126, l.9

386. *Timbul-lab batu ini*: see my Malay Sayings, p.187 (Shake off the dust of one's feet)

386^a. *Maka pada tēmpat itu*: should read *Itu-lab maka tēmpat itu*. For *itu-lab maka* see note **145^a**.

387. *Satēlab itu*: evidently there is an omission in the MS here of a passage to explain the sending of M. Abu Bakar. Sh. XX supplies the omission.

388. *Durr Manzum*: see p.8 of this text and Sh. XX

389. *Maka di-suroh*: should be *Maka Durr Manzum di-suroh* as in Sh.

390. *Tuan Pematakan*: Sh. has, ? more probably, *Makhdum Patakan*. The Pasai expert might well have been a *makhdum*, though neither Patakan nor Pematakan bears any resemblance to an Arabic name

391. *suatu mas'ilab*: see R.O.W., The Malays, p. 38

392. *biduanda*: see note **14^a** on *bulubalang*.

392^a. *dēngan*: here and on p.128, l.7 *dēngan* may mean 'slave'. cf. Risalat Hukum Kanun sec. 128 *suku bargā dēngan itu*

393. *bunyi surat itu*: Sn. X³, p.128 gives the contents of the contents of the letter

393^a. *dēngan*: see note **392^a**, above.

394. *maka Tun Hasan*.....: the MS has *maka Tun Hasan pun datang ka-rumah Tun Makdum Mua mengadap Tun Makdum Mua*

395. *taban*: see R.O.W., Preface to this text

396. *apa daya kita...tēranjur*: the same expression occurs on p. 178, l.6 Sh. adds *Malu hamba mēmbaleki lagi*

397. *ini-lab ia*: for the probable answer see R.O.W., The Malays, p.38

398. *Kadli Yusuf*: referred to on pp. 154 and 157 as Maulana Yusuf

399. *Makhdum Saiyid 'Abdul'-Aziz*: see p.84 (note **155** refers).

400. *jēnun*: evidently not to be interpreted literally as 'mad', as we read of him on p.157 as Sultan Mahmud's teacher. It seems here to be used in the sense of 'retire from the world to practise religion'

These notes refer to pages **126—129** of Winstedt's romanized text: see footnote on p. 205 *antea*.

401. *Kadli Měnua*: referred to on p.154, l.38 as *Kadli Měnawar Shab*, 'grandson' of Maulana (Kadli) Yusuf and, correctly, on p.157, l.24 as son.

402. *Yang mana*: Sh. *anak raja mana*, which suggests that *yang mana* here, as commonly, means 'which one?'. But cf. *yang mana titab.....tiada patek lalu* on p. 135 l.44 where *yang mana* clearly is not an interrogative and simply = *mana*, as I think is the case here

403. *orang Indëragiri*: see note **292**.

403a. *měnyëlampai*: preceded in the MS by سمي : see note **356** on *sërta*.

404. *sa-těmpayan*: here and in the next line the MS has *sa-tepayan*, the medial *m* being omitted as is usual in the Malay of Kelantan and Trengganu. For *sa-makok* see Introduction.

405. *anak raja-raja*: Sh. *anak raja yang bërnama Raja Ahmad itu*. The reference to *anak kita* on p. 131, l.15 confirms that for *raja-raja* here we should read *raja*

406. *Sahaya sěmua*: the pronouns of the 1st person singular most commonly used in the S.M. are *hamba* and *beta*, and *sahaya* here may be the noun 'servants'. But the S.M. has examples of *sahaya* being used as a pronoun, e.g. by the Laksamana himself on p. 180, l.39: and I prefer to read it as a pronoun here 'let me and my men land', the L. tactfully absolving the Bendahara from the necessity of participating in the attack

407. *sěgala...sa-daun*: Sh. has *makan-lab Bëndahara dēngan sěgala...sa-kalian-nya sa-daun*. The omission of the Bendahara in this passage in this text must be an error, as the whole point of the story is that the Bendahara ate with the others whereas ordinarily he would eat by himself, see p.163, l.15

408. *gēmuroh...měnyabong*: defective as it stands. It should read *gēmuroh bunyi-nya ra'ayat (běrjalan itu), rupa (sinar) sējnata sapěrti kilat sabong-měnyabong* and I have translated accordingly

409. *pěchab*: Sh. *pěchab pěrang-nya, habis lari...* which is better.

410. *ambab-ambobkan tuab*: Sh. *ambob-amboban tuab* The MS has امبه امباهن توه which I read as *ěmbab-ěmbaban tua* 'old though I may be'. See W. under *ěmbob*. Whether *ěmbob-ěmbaban* (W.) should or should not be *ěmbab-ěmbaban*, in - Trengganu the word *ěmbob* (in negative *ta'ěmbob* is pronounced as nearly *ěmbab* as *ěmbob*

411. *sa-orang* كوكلوفوري : ? = *sa-orang ku-kělupuri*, from *kělupur (měngělupar)* "send them sprawling"

412. *sějната-nya panah Pasai*: thus the MS (the words *maka...ra'ayat* have been imported from Sh.) *Pasai* is probably an error for فراسي as on p.148, l.40 where what appears in the text as *pěrisai* is written فراسي in the MS. This فراسي may well be the same word as appears in the Hkt. R.R.P., p.32, *kuda sěmbarani anak kuda Pěراسي*. If, as is possible, *sěmbarani* is derived from the Persian *sum* 'hoof' and *par* 'wing', i.e. 'having winged hoofs'), it is probable that *Pěراسي* there represents 'Persian', particularly as

These notes refer to pages **130—132** of Winstedt's romanized text: see footnote on page 205 *antea*.

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Persian horses were imported into the East for their size and strength? Equally فارسي here may stand for 'Persian'? These were evidently some special bows and may have come from Persia, famous for archery from the time of Herodotus, or at any rate may have been copied from a Persian model?

413. *Baik-lab*.....*lari itu*: the MS has *Baik-lab maka Naina Isabak pun pērgi*. The passage should read

Maka kata T.P., "Baik-lab." Maka N.I. pun pērgi mēm-balekkan.....lari itu, barang siapa bērtēmu.....
and I have translated accordingly

414. *mērapat*: *mērapab* (MS مرافه)

415. *di-sēru*: MS دسوراي = *di-suari*

416. *bērbulu* : اندغ : *bērbulu indong* (*mutiara*)

417. *akhir zaman*: 'of the latter days' i. e. of the present time. In the Malay of Kelantan *dunia akhir zaman* = nowadays'

418. *oleh sēgala*.....*alab-lab*: the text is evidently corrupt; some verb is missing after *sēgala orang Malaka*. The sense of the passage is given by Sh. *Maka oleh sēgala orang Malaka di-gulongnya sa-kali-sa-kali: maka nēgēri Pasai pun alab-lab, oleh orang Malaka di-masoki-nya dari pintu Tēnai. Maka istana pun dapat: maka Sultan Pasai pun lari ka-hutan*

419. *Yang di-sēmbab*: the epigram can hardly be reproduced in English. The meaning is "When I was in Malacca I did homage to him whose suzerainty I recognized there. Now that I am in Pasai I recognize no such suzerainty:" and it was so interpreted by the Bendahara, see II,35—6 below.

419a. *Maka sangat-lab*: MS *Maka makin sangat-lab*

420. *kata sa-tērgab*: sc. *orang*; 'some people say'

421. *pērdana mēntēri*: ? read *paramēntēri*

422. *tujoh buah gunong*: cf. the description of Bija Nagara on p. 51

423. *sa-pēnyampang*: not known to W. or M. ? an error for *sa-pēnampang* as Sh., see W. under *tampang* III, and as on p.181, l.1

424. *mēngadap ka-Majapahit*: the MS adds *Sa-tēlah sudah lēngkap, maka baginda pun bērangkat-lab ka-Majapahit*

425. *jikalau tiada mati*: not to be taken literally. An example of what Malays call *mēlapek chakap* i.e. making no statement about their future intentions without some such proviso as *kalau tiada apa-apa 'aral gēndala-nya; kalau 'umor panjang* etc.

426. *papan pērabu*: is this an allusion to the practice described in R.O.W., History of Malaya, p.57?

427. *Kujai*: ? *Kuchi*, the word always used on the East Coast of Malaya for Indo-China

428. *Champa Malaka*: see note on *Nakhoda Chēmpa* on p.85. See also Marrison, The Chams of Malacca (*JMBRAS*, 24, pt. 1)

429. *Raja Radin*: Sh. *Raja Hussain*. Sultan Mansur had a son to whom he gave the name *Ratu di-Kēlang* (p.111, l.13), Sh. *Radin Kēlang*. According to Sh. XXIII. p.139 Radin Kēlang was killed in an affray. Sh. (XIV) says Raja Husain was Sultan Mansur's son by a sister of Bendahara Paduka Raja and married 'Tun Senaja

These notes refer to pages 133—136 of Winsted's romanized text: see footnote on page 205 *antea*.

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sister of Tun Tahir'. This must be the Tun Naja mentioned on p.116 of this text and again on p.139, l.33 as the wife of Sultan Ala'ud-din. The Raja Radin mentioned here must accordingly be Raja Husain

430. *tětapi jangan di-běri Allah*.....: would be better punctuated

tětapi — *jangan di-běri Allah ta'ala dēmikian itu* — *jikalau kira-nya*.....

431. *gěring-lab*: the story that follows is told in Sh. (XXVI) of Sultan Mahmud

432. *Měngapa*: so Sh., but the MS has *měngadap* which also makes good sense, being used here, as commonly, of attendance at the bedside of a person *in extremis*

433. *Shahid-lab*: here used in the sense of "behold !", cf. *Shahid-lab, Sěri Nara 'diraja mēmbcwa lamba lari* on p. 212, l.19

434. *Maka sěmbab*....: MS *ini-lab*. The passage should read *Maka sěmbab Bend. dan Laks.*, "*Sa-kali ini-lab Mělayu durbaka*

434a. *Běndabara*: read *Běndabari*

434b. *habis*: MS هائس ? *hapus* 'erased'

435. *běrusong* *měngiringkan dia*: I would omit the words in brackets, which have been interpolated, and read *anak buah-nya*.....*dia* as part of the royal order

436. *jika ia běrusongan*: I take this *ia* to be the affirmative *ya*, not the pronoun: 'if you *do* use the litter'. The remark is addressed to the Bendahara and there is no obvious reason why he should be apostrophized as 'he'

437. *Aku-kah pa' si-běndul*: the argument here seems to be: 'if I use my litter as the Laks. uses his, I am likely to be mistaken, by the man in the street, for the Raja himself (and my loyalty will accordingly be suspect)'

438. *aku-kah pa' si-běndul*: the argument here seems to be: 'the Laks. is a fighting man. Therefore I give him any good weapon or (fighting) ship that comes into my hands: and when the time comes for such things to be used, he will employ them well to protect you and me as well as the Raja. You are not fighting men. Ask me for elephants or horses if you like, but don't complain if I give weapons and boats to the man who can make best use of them'

439. *Tun Naja*: see note on *Raja Radin* on p. 137

440. *raja*: better *anak raja Pabang* as Sh.

441. *Raja Mahmud*: not previously mentioned, but according to Sh. he was a son by Tun Naja. Subsequently became Sultan Mahmud (p. 150), though on pp.149—50 he is referred to as *Raja Mamat*. ? the *Sultan Ahmad* in l.35 above

442. *di-buka-nya*: so the MS but surely it must be an error for *di-buangkan-nya*? Sh. has *di-champak-kan-nya*

443. *bujong jambatan*: 'the entrance to the bridge', see note on *bujong pasar* on p.81, l.18

444. *sa-orang orang siapa*: 'one of whose men'. The Sultan knew that only one man had done the killing

445. *Maka Hang Ishak dan Hang Siak*: sc. *pun datang-lab*

These notes refer to pages 137—141 of Winstedt's romanized text: see footnote on page 205 *antea*.

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446. *pěněgar-mu*: Sh. *měmandang*. The sense of *pěněgar* here is 'here of'.

447. *měnjěrit*: suggests that *orang kědai* was a woman

448. *tiada apa běhina*: 'of no great account', see W. under *bena*

448a. *Sěri Maharaja*: in his capacity as Temenggong (p.122, l.39). For the functions of the Temenggong see R.O.W., The Malays, p.73

449. *arak barimaur*.....*daging*: one of the few quotations of proverbial sayings to be found in the S.M. Others are *pěrut panjang sa-jěngkal* (p.145, l.1), *mulut di-suap pisang* (p.175 l.18 *ular běrbelit-bělít sěndiri-nya* (p.176, l.8), *kachang di-rěndang* (p.191, l.16); *langit měnimpa bumi* (p.193, l.38) and (Sh.) *orang měngantok di-sorong bantal* (see note on *kabul-lah* on p.186, l.40)

449a. *kělak di-tangkap nya*: the Sri Maharaja, as Bendahara, was put to death by Raja Mahmud, as Sultan Mahmud, see p.187

450. *Tělanai Těrngganu*: for *Tělanai* see note on p.114 135, l.4

451. *ibu*: the principal player or 'leader' in a game. For *sepak raga* see P.M.S., Life and Customs, pt.III, p.15

452. *berpěnanak*....*di-atas*: cf. the Perak expression in such circumstances *ěntab busok raga di-atas!*

453. *di-tunjokkan-nya*: evidently an error on the part of the copyist for *di-běrikan-nya*, which Sh. has „

454. *tabu*: sc. *Raja Maluku*

455. *běladau*: evidently the *pědang* variety (see W.) as on p. 135, l.4.

456. *nyiur dudok umbi*: explained to me as a palm not actually in fruit but big enough to bear

457. *tiada měmběri tabu baginda*: Trengganu being part of Sultan Muhammad's territory, see p.125, l.30, the latter evidently took the Telanai's action as *lěse majestě*. For a similar charge of *lěse majestě* see p.143, l.37

458. *sama-nya*.....: this idiom, not noted by W., occurs *passim* in the Risalat Hukum Kanun, e.g. *jikalau hamba orang mě-nampar sama-nya hamba orang* in sec 8. For a similar incident see p.224, l.37

459. *kakanda*: Sultan Muhd. of Pahang and Sultan Ala'u'd-din of Malacca were brothers though by different mothers

460. *jikalau*: here as in other instances = *apabila*. Cf. *jikalau Tun Perak kělak datang měngadap* on p.94, l.8

460a. *lěngkap*: ? an error *ěngkau* as in Sh.

461. "*tuan juga*" : read "*tuan*" *juga*. Another example of this Pahang practice will be found on p.181 l.5

462. *ka-pintu luar*: cf. p.85, l.29 et sqq.

463. *di-děramkan*: read *di-děrumkan*

464. *Sultan Ibrahim*: see p.124

465. '*adat Raja Pahang*': as on p.142, ll.34—6

466. *měngiring*: has the meaning of the word which Malays pronounce *měngereng* 'turn sideways' or in this instance practically as we should say 'turn one's back on', i.e. a gross discourtesy, which was deliberate, to Sultan Ibrahim. The word is used again on p.208, l.5,

These notes refer to pages 141—143 of Winstedt's romanized text: see footnote on page 205 *antea*.

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though in that case the discourtesy was not intentional. (R.O.W. thinks it is the same word as *měngiring* 'follow': I am doubtful. The pronunciation is quite different)

466a. *tangan-nya kiri*: a deliberate insult, see Zainal-'Abidin op. cit. supra, p.73

467. *tiada bərbudi*: cf. *budi tuan bamba kurang* on p.121, l.5

468. *maka tiada tabu*: 'that you do not know' 'not to know'; a common use of *maka* in the S.M. (which has survived in the colloquial Malay of Kelantan to this day), cf. *ku sangka engkau sudah mati, maka aku mau membuat*..... on p.113, l.14: also p.66, last line and p.220, l.4. See also note on p.100, l.1

469. *di-bawa-lah*: ? sc. *ka-dalam*

470. *dunia* استي : Sh: *dunia itu*. This استي can only I think, be an error for اين , cf. *dunia ini tiada akan kekal* on p. 150, l.1 Cf. also *di-bawa masok dabulu* ستي on p. 220, l. 11, where *ini* would make good sense

471. *bukama' karna*: read *bukama bahwa*

472. *raja-raja*: Sh. *raja* which surely must be right

473. *dua pėrmata*: this injunction is addressed to the Benda-hara's own people and the argument is 'you should do your duty to the Raja because he (a) is joined with the Prophet like two stones in the same ring (b) is God's deputy'

474. *Sėri Nara 'diraja*: Sh. has *Sėri Maharaja* and makes no mention of the *Sėri Nara 'diraja*: rightly.

475. *bapa saudara Raja*: S. M. Mutahir was the uncle of Sultan Mahmud, his sister Tun Naja having married Sultan Mahmud's father, p. 139

476. *tiada bėrkėrja Raja*: see note on *tiada kėna kėrja raja* on p.93, l.21

477. *pėrut panjang sa-jėngkal*: a proverbial expression for the 'small appetite' a disappointed man might be expected to have. See note on *anak harimau* on p.140

478. *kafi*: Ar. 'sufficient'

479. *saf sarap*: ? error in the MS for *sampah sarap* as in Sh.

480. *samata patek harap*: Sh. *samata-mata patek hadapi* which seems preferable at first sight: but cf. *nėgėri akbirat-lah....kėhėndak-ku* on p.137, l.12

481. *dudok pada jumlah Mėlayu*: lit: amongst Malays

482. *dari pėrbata*: ? درفد بات Sh. reads *daripada batu bilir di-kata bulu, batu bulu di-kata bilir*

483. *Raja Pahlawan*: the title of the Chief Minister of Haru, see p.214, l.30

484. *Lain surat, lain bacha-nya*: cf. the incident related on p.178, l.36 et sqq.

485. *ia tabu akan sa-buah sa-patab*: ? a copyist's error for *ia akan tabu sėbut sa-patab* 'they shall know how to say a word rightly'

486. *bulubalang Pasai*: ? should read *bulubalang-nya* or simply *bulubalang* as in Sh.? *Pasai* of course is an error

487. *Malaka* : ? because *Pasai* was on friendly terms with Malacca

These notes refer to pages **143—145** of Winstedt's romanized text: see footnote on page 205 *antea*.

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- These notes refer to pages 146—148 of Winstedt's romanized text: see footnote on page 205 *antea*.

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- 509.** *mengadap*: ? 'look after', as *Bëndabara sēndiri mengadap(i) dia* on p.114, l.28
- 510.** *tětapi jangan di-bēri Allah*: see note on the same words on p. 137, which equally applies here
- 511.** *patek sēmua-nya*: cf. *sabaya sēmua-nya* on p.172, l.25
- 512.** *sēdia*: spelt سيري in the MS as on p.81, l.13 and p.172, l.2
- 513.** *kēbēlaan*: ? *gēmbalaan* to accord with the preceding *mēngēmbala*. The omission of the *m* is paralleled on p.76, l.2 where what appears as *gēmbala* in the text is written غبال in the MS
- 514.** *kētubaaan-mu*: Sh. *tanab-mu*. The MS has كتهام I suggest this is an error for كتهانم *Kētanahan-mu* coined as a Malay equivalent of the Arabic *tinu* (clay)
- 515.** *kērajaan*: ? *kērjakan*
- 516.** *pēndua*: secondary, reserve creese, smaller than the principal weapon. Such was Sultan Mahmud's strength that for him a three-span creese was only a secondary weapon!
- 517.** *Sēri Bija 'diraja*: according to Sh. he had only just arrived from Singapore (his fief, p.151, l.30) His *tiada beta mēnēngar umanat* (l.44) may well therefore have been literally true: but at the same time it signifies his disagreement with the succession of Sultan Mahmud to the throne, cf. the Laksamana's *sabaya bēlum mēnēngar titab* on p.180, l.39, and was so interpreted by Sultan Mahmud, see p.151, l.17; and also following note
- 518.** *dalam hati baginda*: Sh. *pada hati baginda*, "*Tiada suka Sēri Bija 'diraja ini bērtuankan aku.*" *Maka baginda bērdēndam..*
- 519.** *Sultan Ahmad*: succeeded to the throne on Sultan Mahmud's abdication, p.189, only to be killed later on his father's orders, p.193
- 520.** *sa-orang*: ? error for *sēdang* as in Sh.
- 521.** *di-ambil baginda sireh*: see note on *di-ambil.....sireh puan* on p. 94, l.42
- 521a.** *Kēna....mati*: MS *kēna ubun-ubun, ubun-ubun-nya pēsok lalu mati*
- 522.** *Hēndak-lab*: read *Hēndak*
- 523.** *apa kita*: read *apa daya kita*
- 524.** *tiga-bēlas tabil*: Sh. *barang dua tiga kati*. The *tabil* of this text must have weighed considerably more than its present 1.1/3 oz. : on p.196, l.2 the weight of a champion game-cock is stated to be ten tahils !
- 524a.** *Sidi*: surely *sēdia* ? For the spelling see note on p.81, l.3
- 524b.** *Ka-majlis*: did he however reappear in public life as the Tun Biajit mentioned on p.195, l.16?
- 525.** *chuchu*: actually he was his son, see p.129, l.30
- 526.** *Sēri Awadana*: presumably the Temenggong, Tun Mai Ulat Bulu, see p.190, l.28
- 527.** *bērajar pada Raja Maluku*: see p.141
- 528.** *Bērapa batang. tētak*: would read better *Bērapa batang kēbēndak tuan hamba putus kisi-kisi ini hamba tētak?*

These notes refer to pages 149—155 of Winstedt's romanized text: see footnote on page 205 *antea*.

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529. *di-bawa-nya pula*: i.e. under the influence of the spell put upon it by the Sriwa Raja

530. *ka-těmpat-nya*: MS *ka-tambatan-nya*

531. *Tun Isak Běrakab*: his methods with the Sriwa Raja are described on p.153

532. *Isak datang juga*: one would expect *Isak juga datang* as in Sh. On p.188, l.43 there is the same discrepancy between the two texts over *lamun si-Bayazid di-ikat juga*

532a. *běrsa-malaman*: i.e. the spell cast on the pony which made it bring its rider back each time had been removed

533. *akan Tun 'Omar.....Datok Bongkok*: not clear as it stands. What I think was intended was

akan Tun 'Omar (yang) di-kasehi oleh Sultan Mahmud itu anak Sėri Bija 'diraja Datok Bongkok, těrlalu bėrani (ia).....

This Tun 'Omar was the son of the Sri Bija 'diraja who was known as Datok Bongkok, see p.96, ll.43—6 and p.97, ll.4—5

534. *guru-nya*: for a description of a *guru* such as seems to be referred to here see Hang Tuah II, p.161

535. *Hang 'Isa Pantas.....Hang Husain Chěngang*: the descriptions that follow complete the portraits of the men mentioned on p.152, l.41 as Sultan Mahmud's favourites

536. *anak tuan.....sudab-lah*: should read *anak tuan (hamba) bėndak sudab, sudab-lah*

537. *Maulana Yusuf....Kadli Yusuf*: one and the same person See p. 129, l.29,

538. *jėnun*: see note on p.129

539. *buangi alı-alı*: 'catapult them'

540. *ka-rumah sama fakir*: Sh. *sama-nya fakir* which is clearly right.

541. *pantas tangan*: read *pantas pangus*

542. *bėrkain mėmanchong*: see R.O.W., English-Malay Dictionary, under *skirt* 'wearing the sarong caught up on right side and long on the left, with one end hanging in front *bėrkain manchong*', which presumably = *bėrkain mėmanchong*.

543. *daripada bėndak*: 'in order to'

544. *di-bangun-nya*: ? *di-banguni-nya*, cf. *di-turuni-nya*, p.160 last line. *Di-banguni-nya* is perhaps stronger than *dia bangun*, 'he got himself up' as opposed to 'he got up!'

544a. برفاسق : ? *bėrpasu* 'bowl after bowl', cf. *bėrpėnanak* on p. 152, l.42. Sh. has *sa-pasu*

545. *pintu ęnggan*: R.O.W. conjectures = *pintu pėr-binggaan* corrupted into *p.inggan* 'boundary gate'; but what about *di-badapan raja*? My own view is that the text is corrupt and that there is a passage missing to the effect that Hang Berkak who publicly (*di-badapan raja*) had been unwilling (*ęnggan*) to undertake the task of murdering Raja Z. A., was sent for privately by Sultan Mahmud and then volunteered (*bėrbakap*). This view is corroborated to some extent by the Sh. version of the incident, see ch. xxx, p.194

546. *Maka titab Sultan M.S.....* according to Sh. he said to Hang Berkak *jika sunggoh sapėrti kata-mu itu, ęngkan ku-aku saudara*: and Sh. goes on to relate how Hang Berkak murdered Raja Z. A. and for doing so was made Sang Sura (in which character he re-appears, graphically, on pp.189—90 of this text)

These notes refer to pages 155—158 of Winstedt's romanized text: see footnote on page 295 *antea*.

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547.*patab-lab përang orang Kelantan*: this invasion of Kelantan is described in Sh. XXVI

548. *mërampas*: see note on *rampasan* on p.48.

549. *Paduka Tuan*: this was the Tun Pikrama who was made Paduka Tuan on p.134, l.30). As Tun Pikrama he was *bakal Bëndahara* (p.85, l.10) and in the Sh. list of candidates for the Bendaharaship he is placed first

550 *Barang siapa patut*: not in Sh. and obscure. All nine were 'eligible' (*patut*), as Sultan Mahmud must have known. ? *patut* = *tërlebeh patut*

551. *bonda Sultan Mahmud*: Tun Naja (p.139, l.33): she was a half-sister of Tun Mutahir, the Sri Maharaja

552. *karas Badan*: the word *karas* is not known to W. or M. and it is not apparently of Portuguese origin. It appears also on p.213, l.21 and on p.220, l.42. The context in each case suggests that *karas* was some sort of chest, the upper tray of which housed a betel-set while the lower compartment was used for other valuables

553. *sikap-nya*: ? *sa-lënkap* as in l.38

554. *bëkobak*: I cannot trace *kobak*. Could كوبيق stand for *gobek* 'betel-pounder' ?

555. *tombak bërtëtampan*: so Sh. A lance with *tëtampan* ("fringe" R.O.W.) attached to it

556. *tërlalu sangat pada mëmëlibarakan*: so Sh., but it cannot be right. ? *pada* is copyist's error for *pandai*. *mëmbawa orang*: must be an error for *mëmbawa hati orang*, which Sh. has

556a. *Salamin*: ? *salimin*, plural of *salim* (Ar.) and meaning 'may we (arrive) safe' ? Or is there a reference here to the *Bandar Sëlimin* mentioned in No. 953 of *Pantun Mëlayu* (W. and R.O.W.) ?

557. '*adat tëmënggong*': see p.87, l.28

558. *ganti ayah-nya*: Tun Mutahir was made Temenggong on p.122, l.18

559. *pëdekar*: see W. under *pëndekar*

560. *mëlabobkan.... tangan*: in contrast to the short, tight-sleeved *baju* customary up to that time

561. *bërtanya pada istëri-nya*: as did the Sriwa Raja on p.153

562. *tërlalu bësar daripada lain*: 'grandest', not 'greatest': see p.185, l.1 where the fact that he did not know his own slaves by sight is considered a mark of his *këbësaran*

563. *tiada-lah di-turuni-nya*: following the precedent of the first Bendahara, see p.62, l.7. Sh. adds that he was seated *di-atas tikar pachar, di-bawah tikar pachar itu di-bëntangi pëрмаidani*. This was yerging on royal practice, cf. p.194, l.33

564. *Tun Sinal*: becomes successively Tun Minda and Tun Menida (p. 162 l.13) in the story that follows

565. *Inggeb*: Jav. 'as you wish'

566. *ëmpat*: Sh. *ëmpat puloh* which must be right, see p.162, l.13

566a. *mërugul*: a case of *panjat angkara*, see R.O.W., The Malays, p.45

567. *Pateh Adam....pechab*: for the Jav. version which has been included in the translation and for the rendering of it I am indebted to Drs. Hooykaas and Teeuw

These notes refer to pages 159—161 of Winstedt's romanized text: see footnote on page 205 *antea*.

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568. *pun*: MS *pula*, i.e. as other Rajas had done?
- 568^a. *mohonkan nobat*: see note on *nobat* on p. 59
569. *Karna 'adat.....*: cf. p.87, l.34. A notable exception was made on p.132, ll. 1—12
570. *di-acharakan*: see note on *měngajari* on p.82. See also note on *bichara* on p.185, l.15. Evidently it was regarded as humiliating to be 'hailed up' before the Bendahara in this way, cf. the case of Tun Perak on p.95 and see note on *sa-bagai mana* on that page.
571. *měntěri*: see p.82, l.30
572. *Lakukan sa-kali*: Sh. *supaya di-lakukan sa-kali* i. e. 'that we may treat you as we treated your father' ? *Lakukan* here may well be an error for *lalukan*
573. *Maharaja Měrlang*: see p.82, l.30
574. *itu pun*: lit even so (*itu pun*) it was at was at Malacca that he died (instead of in Indragiri as might have been expected)
575. *anak Marhum Malaka*: Putěri Bakal, d/o Sultan Mansur, p.III, l.9
- 575^a. *di-upamakan*: here = 'respected' 'properly treated', cf. Hang Tuah II 256 *bunob oleh kamu sěbab ia tiada upama akan daku ini*
576. *sudah di-anugěrahkan*: there is no record of this. See note on *kita anugěrahkan* on p.110
577. *Maharaja Isak lari ka-Lingga*: see p.197 l.13
578. *pětuturan*: see note on *pěraturan* on p.42
579. *měngbimpunkan*: MS *měngamponkan*
- 579^a. *tuau*: omit, as in Sh.
580. *mělainkan tulis*: should, I think, read
mělainkan pulang ka-rumah kami-lah kělak, maka
kami tulis with *maka* = *babaru*, cf. *tiga hari maka sudah* on p.122, l.21
581. *Sa-tělah.....Hang Nadim*: I would re-punctuate thus
Sa-tělah sudah lěngkap di-tulis-nya, kain.....
Hang Nadim
582. *Buah pėlەر gerang*: Sh. has *Wali pėlەر gěrangn nama-nya* which is preferable
583. *Ada pun sabaya*: Sh. *sabaya jangan di-masok-masokkan pada pěkěrajan ini* which is clearer
584. *Nadim, Nadim*: MS *Nadim, antum*. The latter word is Ar. 'ye'
585. *sěgala arta-nya*: Sh. *sěrta barta ada sđikit-sđikit* which is obviously the more correct version of what happened
586. *ěmpat hělai lěpas*: Sh., better *banya ěmpat hělai yang lěpas*
587. *Datok Bongkok*: see p.96, l.45 et sqq.
588. *Tun Bayajit*: see p.154, l.13
589. *Guna*: should be Sang Guna (*bakal Laksamana*, p.85, l.8)
590. *Sultan Mahmud*: so Sh.; elsewhere he appears as Sultan Muhammad, see p.125, l.35
- 590^a. *těrlalu baik itu*: ? repunctuate *těrlalu baik paras-nya, dalam tanab.....*
591. *Tun Teja*: see note on *sa-tělah di-libat* on p.171

These notes refer to pages 161—167 of Winstedt's romanized text: see footnote on page 205 *antea*.

591^a. *musim*: ? the time after the padi harvest when there would be plenty of people available for the work entailed by a royal wedding ?

592. *paduka ayabanda*: Slutan Muhammad of Pahang was the uncle of Sultan Mahmud of Malacca, being the son of Sultan Mansur of Malacca. *Paduka ayabanda* may therefore stand for 'you' in the letter. Equally it may mean 'my father'

592^a. *nobat*: see note on p.59, l.29

593. *di-persalini*: cf. *utusan orang jika pulang di-persalin*, p.85, l.35

594. *adinda baginda*: makes no sense. Lines 15 and 16 should, I think, read

měnngar bunyi surat adinda baginda itu.

Maka baginda pun mēmulai.....

594^a. *di-nobatkan*: see note on *di-nobat-lah* on p.120

595. *ini konon*: see note on *istimewa* on p.87

596. *těrlalu sangat tabu*: the suggestion of course being that the S. R. could cast spells on the elephants and thereby stultify the efforts of the elephant-men (just as he could make his pony do what he liked with other riders, p.158)

596^a. *tuan*: see p.143, l.15

597. *Maka*: MS *Mari*

598. *di-biseki-nya*: Sh. adds *di-katakan-nya suatu syarat*

599. *těrlal*: see W. under *těrlai*

600. *di-niatkan (-nya MS)*: does د ن ك ن ت represent an old spelling د ن ك ك ن ت of *di-naikkan-nya* which Sh. has?

601. *ku-bawa kabawah duli*: Sh. adds appositely *akan mēnghapuskan dosa-ku* (the *dosa* being his failure on his mission to Kalinga, pp.165—7)

602. *apa daya kita*: the *kita* here evidently does not include Saidi Ahmad. Sh. has *apa daya aku*. Hang Nadim was meditating *panjat adat*, for which see R.O.W., *The Malays*, p.44

603. *masuk-pělu'ut*: read *masuk si-pělu'ut*

604. *makin*: here = *sěbab*. This use of *makin* survives in Perak in the form *měnggěngkin*, e.g. '*ngapa mēngkin tak kamu tērang tanah kamu itu?*'

605. *běndak-lah....*: should read *běndak-lah barang daya mak bawa kapada-ku*.

605^a. *pole-cat*: Sh. *ubat guna*. Pole-cat = civet, applying here to the musky perfumed got from the anal glands' (O.E.D.) of the civet

606. *Sayang... baik-nya*: I would read

Sayang beta mēlibat rupa tuan yang baik paras ini bēlakikan raja ini: jika'au raja yang bēsar laki tuan, alang-kah baik-nya?

Sh. has *jikalau raja bēsar-bēsar laki tuan*

606^a. *Raja Malaka-lah raja bēsar*. Sh. has *Raja Malaka raja bēsar daripada Pahang ini*

607. *Sa-telah di-libat*: at this point according to Sh., Tun Teja was doubtful as to Hang Naçim's motives and thought he might be going to take her for himself. This was put to Hang Nadim, who replied with the verse *Tun Teja Ratna Běnggala* (p.167 of this text). With the verse in this position in the story the line *jika tuan tiada pērchaya* is the answer to Tun Teja's suspicions, and according to Sh. it satisfies her.

These notes refer to pages **167—171** of Winstedt's romanized text: see foot-note on page 205 *antea*.

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608. *ka-jong*: MS كاجڠ , whereas *ka-jong* in 1.36 appears as كجڠ in the MS. ? كاجڠ is an error for كارن جڠ and the sentence should read *Běrsěgěra karna jong bēndak bērlayar*

609. *Ada pun...orang-nya*: ? for *alat* read *akan*; for *tělah* read *těrlalu* and for *sěgala* read *sa-kali*? The passage would then run

Ada pun akan nakhoda Saidi Abmad itu bukan-nya barang-barang orang, těrlalu pěrka-lab sa-kali orang-nya

This makes sense and is Malay, which the text as it stand is not; but I admit that the relevance of this observation to the story is doubtful

610. *sědia-lab*: MS سيدي ايله ? *sědia ix-lab* For the spelling of *sědia* see note on p.81, 1.13

611. *tangan-nya di-bungkus dēngan kain*: in Hang Tuah II, 224 we read *Mawa Hang Tuah pun sěgěra-lab mēlabobkan tangan baju-nya, lalu di-sambut tangan Tun Teja* which accords with *tangan-nya di-alas-nya dēngan kain* on p.173, 1.37 of this text. *Di-bungkus* here however suggests more elaborate precautions

612. *Anakanda...tiada tabu*: ? should read *Arakanda ghaib tiada kělihatan, ka-mana pěrgi-nya sabaya.....*

612a. *sēmua-nya*: for this *-nya* of p.149, 1.46

613. *panah losong*: unidentifiable. Sh. *panah kosong*, which is unhelpful, see W.

614. *hairan*: Sh. adds *mēlihat rupa Tun Teja* and some such words must have been omitted by error in this text: cf. *hairan-lab Raja.....mēlihat rupa putěri...on p.45, 1.12*

614a. *masing-masing*: sc. *kěmbali* as in Sh.

615. *daya di-minyak*: MS داي دامڠينق ? = *di-ya di-ěmpenak*

616. *saperti kěra...duri*: see note on *anak barimau* on p.140

617. *kěna kēmunchak...bělak*: should read *kěna kēmunchak tiang pěrabu Tun Aria, bēlah* as in Sh.

618. *bětul tiang akan*: for *akan* ? read *agong* as in Sh. *Bětul* here = *těntang* as commonly in colloquial Malay

619. *chěbang*: see W. under *jěbang*

619a. *sa-bagai*: this is one of several instances in the S.M. (e.g. p.190, 1.7; p.202, 1.43; 1.211, 1.37) in which *sa-bagai* is used with a meaning not noted in the dictionaries, viz. 'continually' 'repeatedly'

619b. *ular bərbělīt-bělīt*: see note on *anak barimau* on p.140

620. *orang payang*: i.e. a man who worked as fisherman using a *pukat payang* ? For *pukat payang* see JMBRAS, 13, pt. III, p.106

621. *di-sěbut orang*: ? sc. *datang sěkarang* as elsewhere in the SM.

621a. *měnyuroh kěrajaan*: the word زينب cannot be identified by Arabists with any meaning suitable here. ? an error for زينب = *těrtibi* 'organize' ? Cf. p.133, 1.20 and p.194, 1.2 for a similar description

621b. *nobat-lab*: see note on p.1.20, 1.35

These notes refer to pages 171—178 of Winstedt's romanized text: see footnote on page 205 *antea*.

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622. *pěrsantapan*: cf. *Sěri Rama itu alsal chětěria* on p.121, l.43. If *chětěria* = *anak raja-raja* (see note on *bulubalang* on p.45), the use of *pěrsantapan* here is explained. Otherwise it would be a mere complimentary substitute for *ayapan*

623. *sa-sa'at*: ? sc. *dudok*

623a. *tiada těrлуу turut*: lit. he *could* not follow. *Lalu* here is used to express physical ability, as commonly in Perak

624. *Mawara 'n-nahar*: Trans, Oxiana—i.e. Bokhara, Samarkand etc.

625. *di-bachakan-nya sěmbah*: cf. p.125, l.42 and p.146, ll.1—5

626. *di-bawakan gěndang*: bring it (the letter) *with* drum: cf. *Mukarram zillallah fi'l-alam*

627. *al-Muazzan*.....: read *al-Mu'azzam al-Malik al-Mukarram zillallah fi'l-alam*

628. *ini-lab*: for the probable answer see R.O.W. Malays, p.38

629. *Maka Maharaja Dewa Sura pun*: here evidently should come, as in Sh., *di-surobkan raja Siam mēnyěrang Pabang. Maka M.D.S. pun bēlēngkap*.....: which explains the otherwise obscure *dan pēnyurob Raja bēnua Siam* in l.12

630. *jikalau tiada mēnyurob*: Sh. has *baik juga yang di-pertuan mēnyurob*

631. *měrugi*: cf. p.142, l.21

632. *Maka Běndahara*.....*pěrgi-lab*: should read *Maka Běndahara S.M. pun bēlēngkap-lab. Sa-tělāb sudah lēngkap, maka di-anugěrahi pěrsalin dēngan sa-pěrti-nya. Sa-tělāb sudah itu, maka Běndahara S.M. pun pěrgi-lab*

and I have translated accordingly

633. *sěmbilan laksa*: becomes *sěmbilan-bēlas laksa* on p.181, l.30. The same discrepancy will be found in Sh.

634. *Laksamana*.....*Raya*: this comes in very abruptly and there must be some omission in the MS here. After the passage describing the strength of the fleet etc, Sh. has a new paragraph

Sa-tělāb datang ka-Batu Pabat, maka bērtěmu dēngan Laksamana datang dari Sungai Raya

which gives the sense required

635. *sahaya bēlum mēnēgar titāb*: cf. the incident of the Sri Bija 'diraja' on p.150, ll.41—4 and see note thereon. Why the Laksamana was unwilling to go is not explained! Possibly he was piqued at not having been formally commissioned (*di-titabkan*)?

636. *orang Malaka*....*dia*: should be omitted

637. *Tuan*: see p.143, l.5,

638. *api*: MS أف If *api* is correct, = materials for making a fire for cooking, such as might have to be carried in uninhabited country ?

639. *maka kapitan*: read *maka oleh kapitan*

640. *ingin mēlibat nēgěri Malaka itu*: Sh. *ia pun těrлуу ingin mēnēgar khabar nēgěri Malaka itu* which means not 'he greatly desired to hear news of Malacca' (he had already received the report) but 'on hearing this account of Malacca he greatly desired to possess it (Malacca)'. Similarly *těrлуу ingin mēlibat* here does not mean 'he greatly desired to see Malacca': cf. the pantun line *hati ingin mēlibat bunga* which means 'the sight of the flower inflames my desire':

These notes refer to pages 179—182 of Winstedt's romanized text: see footnote on page 205 *antea*.

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and clearly *kěbēsaran* or some such word has been omitted by error after *mēlibat*. The meaning is 'seeing how great (?) a city Malacca was he greatly desired to possess it'. Cf. *Sa-tēlah Sultan Mansur Shab mēnēgar khabar Pabang itu, maka tērla'u ingin baginda akan nēgēri Pabang itu*

641. *běrpērang sapērti api*: is not Malay. There must be an omission. ? as on p.191, l.5 the sentence should run *lalu bērpērang, kilat api sapērti kilat di-udara*

641a. *Kapitan Mor*: Portuguese *capitao-mor* 'great captain', an ancient rank in the Portuguese navy

642. *Jika dēmikian*: Sh. has *Mēngapa engkau bērkata dēmikian itu* ? If *Jika dēmikian* is right, I take the meaning to be 'If as you suggest, another expedition (under the same leadership) is doomed to failure, wait until I can go myself.'

643. *makim*: read *makin*

644. *mēngbantar sireb*: See P.M.S., Life & Customs, Pt. I, p.23

645. *jabat*: see note on *jabat* on p.99, l.28

645a. *běrsuap-suapan*: cf. p.157, l.10

646. *Tun Tērang*: see p.194, l.30

647. *tidak ada tara-nya*: but see p.184, ll. 3—4

648. *ashik-ashik*: so Sh., but the MS has *اسيق*

649. *ēmbob*: this word which in the negative *ta'ēmbob* is in daily use on the East Coast of Feninsula is seldom heard now in positive

650. *arak*: read *arah* as in the MS

650a. *pabatan bēndul....dinding*: ? cross-beams and wall-planking not yet put into place but still being 'shaped' (*pabat*) by the carpenters. For *pabat* cf. p.115, l.28

651. *kata bēnar-lah*: not in Sh. ? "Tell the truth"

652. *sa-ekor*: Sh. *sa-ekor sa-orang*, which is more likely

653. *engkau anak si-aru*: it is a question 'So you're so and so's son, are you ?'

654. *pēri kēbēsaran*: see note on p.160, l.44 Sh. adds pertinently *tiada mēngēnal hamba sabaya daripada banyak-nya*

655. *datang mēngadap mēnyembab*: ? sc. *lalu* between *mēngadap* and *mēnyembab*. Sh. *datang bēndak mēnyembab pada Bēndahara*.

656. *patut*: Sh. *boleh*. If *patut* is correct, it must mean 'deem fitting' ?

657. *bichara*: MS *اجار* i.e. *achara*: see note *mēngajari* on p.82

658. *sa-tabil*: MS *ستله* ? an error for *سكت* (= *sa-kati*) as in Sh. and also on p.186, l.15

659. *di-polu-nya*: Sh. *di-těpok-nya*. He struck the door a resounding blow?

660. *anak istēri-nya*: Sh. *sēgala anak istēri-nya*. 'His family' in fact. See note on *istēri* on p.56

661. *apa juga khabar....dēngar*: Sh. has, more correctly, *apa juga ada khabar tuan hamba dēngar?*

These notes refer to pages **182—186** of Winstedt's romanized text: see footnote on page 205 *antea*.

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662. *běndak mēmbunoh*: Sh. *běndak mēnyuroh mēmbunoh*, which is more likely

662a. *di-kěrkakan-nya*: see note on p.92, l.8

662b. *Saudara*: cf. *ěngkau ku-aku saudara*, see note on p.158, l.31

663. *takhta kěrajaan*: Sh. adds *měněmpa cherek mas dan kaus mas*. It was when Sultan Mahmud saw that these things were not among the property of the Bendahara (see p.187, ll.33—6) that he realised the falsity of the story he had been told

664. *di-samun*: cf. *těrtawan-lab hati-nya akan arta dunia* on p.170, l.38

665. *kabul-lab pada hati baginda*: Sh. adds appositely *sapěrti orang mēngantok di-sorong bantal*. See note on *anak harimau* on p.140

666. *mēmbinasakan nama*: cf. *binasa-lab nama sěgala Melayu yang dabulu ka'la itu* on p.215, l.12

667. *anakanda*: i.e. Sultan Mahmud, who was the Bendahara's nephew

668. *mēmbawa titah*: in the MS this passage runs *Sang Sura datang bėrlari dari dalam mēmbawa titah pada Sang (? Tun) Sura "Titah yang di-pertuan jangan sěmua-nya di-bunoh"* and I have translated accordingly. *Sang Sura*: see note on p.158, l.31

668a. *Sang Sura*: see note on p.158, l.31

669. *budak sa-mata*: Sh., better, *budak-budak sa-mata*. *Sa-mata* = *sabaja*, see W. under *sěmata*

669a. *takat*: ? *takut*. Sh. has *mudab-mudaban*

669b. *sudab-lab*.....: I read this as *sudab-lab lukab dari těngkok-nya datang ka-puting-puting-nya*. The word لوكه may well be an error for لوكه *lukab*, ? a 'gaping' wound, see W. under *lukab* II. *Puting-puting* 'the nipples'.

670. *ia kělak*: he became Sri Nara 'diraja', see p.194, ll. 11—4.

671. *sěgala pusaka...ka-dalam*: according to Sh., when Tun Sura and Tun Indra arrived with the creese, Tun Hasan Temenggong proposed to throw the Bendahara's treasure chests into the river: but the Bend. forbade hm, saying that it was obvious the Sultan was killing him for his money and therefore after his death his gold was to go to the Sultan *akan kěbaktian kita*

672. *tělab* تغلكه: I cannot identify تغلكه. The word evidently relates to his physical infirmities.

673. *Běndabara...di-gagabi juga*: Sh. "*Běndabara apa-tah ini, yang sudab tepok dan lěsa dēmikian ini?*" *Maka Paduka Tuan bėrmohon, tiada mau jadi Běndabara: maka di-gagabi jua oleh Sultan Mahmud*: and that is how the passage should run. The words *maka di-gagabi...Běndabara* could hardly have been said by the Paduka Tuan

674. *kapada yang lain*: should read *kapada anak yang lain* as in Sh?

674a. *mēmbunoh*: as he could have done, being Bendahara, for whose powers see R.O.W., *The Malays*, p.72

675. *Bagai-bagai pada*: ? *Bagai-bagai pula*. Cf. *Lain-lain pula kata Běndabara* on p.219, l.21

These notes refer to pages 186—190 of Winsted's romanized text: see footnote on page 205 *antea*.

- 676.** *Khoja Ahmad*: must be the Tun Ahmad mentioned on p.134, l.33. He becomes Bendahara, p.194
- 677.** *Tun Isak Bērakab*: has already appeared with distinction, see p.146, l.31; p.153, l.14; p.156, l.8. Becomes Paduka Tuan, p.194, l.11 and ultimately Bendahara, p.214, l.40
- 678.** *turut mashghul*: i.e. as she was *mashghul*, so was he.
- 679.** *Sang Sura*: see note on *maka titah* on p.158
- 679a.** *Sultan Mahmud*: ? an error for *Sultan Ahmad* as in Sh. See l.13 above.
- 680.** *ia-lah kita rajakan*: see p.194, l.44
- 680a.** *itu-lah yang di-kasehi baginda*: see p.207, l.6
- 681.** *baginda mēngaji*: Sh. says it was Sultan Ahmad, which accords with p.177, l.25. See also p.191, l.21
- 682.** *wardi*: surely *أيرمد* stands for *armada* ?
- 683.** *bērlengkap pula*: the arithmetic is faulty and the details of the fleet do not agree with ll. 10—12
- 683a.** *kachang di-rēndang*: see note on *anak harimau* on p.140
- 684.** *Sēri Awadana*: Temenggong Tun Mai Ulat Bulu, Sultan Ahmad's chief favourite, see p.190, l.26
- 685.** *bērtimbal rengka*: MS *makhdum di-bawa bērtimbal rengka*
- 686.** *mēnghimpunkan orang*: presumably not a mere repetition of the statement in ll.12—13 but indicates a special force called out to repel the impending attack of which the Franks had gratuitous given warning in l.31 !
- 686a.** *Si-surob*: misprint
- 686b.** *Sabaja*: MS *sabajas-sabaja*
- 687.** *Hikayat Mukd. Hanafiah*: see R.O.W., Malay Literature, pp.65 and 72,
- 688.** *Hikayat Hamzah*: *ibid.* p. 203
- 689.** *maka*: MS *jika*
- 690.** *tērtawai-wawai*: unidentifiable. ? 'isolate'. Sh. *tērdiri*
- 691.** *di-tēlentangkan*: should read *di-tēlētangkan*, see W. under *tēlētang*. Instead of *nya* the MS has *baginda*
- 692.** *tērtabu-tabu*: Sh. *yang pilehan*
- 693.** *لييكو* : I read as *ايكر* ? *ekur*
- 694.** *داراجغ برني* : ? *dari ujung balai* as Sh.
- 695.** *lalu ka-Pahang*: where according to p.215, l.43 he 'reigned' for a year
- 696.** *Kopak*: the attack by the Portuguese on this place is described in Sh. xxxiv, pp. 231—5
- 697.** *ayam suap*: ? hand-fed, and consequently a plumper and more toothsome bird than the ordinary Malay fowl which *kais pagi makan pagi*, *kais pētang makan pētang* ?
- 697a.** *kērjakan*: 'make an end of him', see note on p.92, l.8 Sh. unctuously adds (ch. xxxiv, p.225) *sapērti firman Allah* etc. but the *Iaconio kērjakan* of this text is probably nearer the truth
- 698.** *di-kēpongkan*: should read *di-kampongan*, see note on *mēngēpong* on p.48
- 699.** *langit mēnimpa bumi*: see note on *anak harimau* on p.

- 699a.** *Jika si-Abmad*: better, as Sh., *jika pada si-Abmad*
- 700.** *Tun Pēkēma*: should be *Tun Pikrama Wira*, see pp.134, 1.32 and p.189, 1.5
- 701.** *Tun Isak*: presumably *Tun Isak Bērakah*, who was grandson of former *Paduka Tuan*, p.146, 1.31
- 702.** *Tun Hamṣab*: see p.187, 1.32: grimly described in Sh. as *yang sisa bunob itu*
- 703.** *Sēri Maharaja*: read *Sēriwa Raja*, see p.169, 1.15
- 703a.** *Tun Muhammad*: an error for *Tun Mahmud*, see p.212, 1.37
- 704.** *bēranakkan*: omit. This was the *Laksamana* punished on p.187, 1.41
- 705.** *ia-lab.....kali*: better *ia-lab yang sangat mashur gagab bērani, bērpērang bērtimbakan darah juga tiga-puloh-dua kali* following Sh.: i. e. 'fought in battles in which blood was shed by the bucketful'
- 705a.** *pēaturan 'bonda*: cf. p.165, 1.26 and see note on *pēaturan* on p.42
- 706.** *dudok.....*: a better punctuation would be *dudok di-adap orang, pada tēmpat baginda itu pērtama.....*
- 706a.** *sēgala*: read *sa-kali*
- 706b.** *di-chukur orang*: ? = *di-surob chukur*. Sh. has *di-chukur Bēndahara*. For the ceremony see W. under *akikah*.
- 707.** *Sultan 'Abdullah*: son of *Raja Menawar Shah*, who was a son of *Sultan Ala'u'd-din* of *Malacca*. Made ruler of *Kampar* on p.149, 1.17 and married to *Sultan Mahmud's* daughter on p.159, 1.2
- 708.** *Di-bela-bela*: I suggest a different scansion
 Di-hela-hela di-rētil (?),
 Sa-hasta kandis di-pēnggalkan;
 Alang-kah gila raja kēchil ?
 Mēnggusta manis di-tinggalkan
 Mēlihat buah hartal masak
 (For another example of a 5—line verse, see Sh. XII, p.71)
- 709.** *di-rētak*: MS درتک It should be some word which rhymes with *kēchil* or possibly *kēchek*
- 709a.** *Tun Biajit*: ? the same man as *Tun Biajit anak Laksa-mana*, see note on p.154, 1.13
- 709b.** *sakai* (سباکو) : for a similar addity of spelling cf. p.117, 1.26 where *sagu* appears in the MS as سباكي . See note on p.222, last line
- 709c.** *Sultan Narasinga*: see p.165, 1.20
- 710.** *di-pileh-nya*: MS *di-pelibara-nya*
- 711.** *sēgala Mēnangkabau bērsama-sama*: obscure. ? A combination of the M. men to defeat *Tun Biajit*
- 711a.** *tabil*: See note on p.154, 1.6
- 711b.** *Maka ada-lab*: ? *Maka* has been inserted by error and *ada-lab* is a mistake for *oleh*
- 711c.** *tarob-nya*: see note on p.67, 1.32

These notes refer to pages 194—199 of Winstedt's romazined text: see footnote on page 205 *antea*.

- 711d.** *sa-kati*: ? transpose the (") to come after *tabil* in l.12
- 712.** *gurob*.....*itu-lab*: should, I think, read
gēmurob bunyi-bunyi-nya. Sējak itu-lab
 See W. under *sējak*, which appears again on p.204, l.42
- 713.** *oleh kapitan*: ? sc. *di-ikat*
- 714.** *ka-sana-sana*: read *ka-mana-mana*. For the sentiment of the verse cf.
Těntu sagar itu lapok;
Měngapa di-patab-patab?
Těntu gadong itu mabok;
Měngapa di-ratab-ratab ?
- 715.** *anak-ku*: Sultan 'Abdullah of Kampar was Sultan Mahmud's son-in-law, p.159, l.2
- 716.** *Maharaja Isbak*: see p.165, ll.13—19
- 717.** *mudek-lab*: there is an omission in the MS here of some description of his arrival at the island
- 718.** *maka di-dudokkan*.....*Běndabara*: obscure. I suggest punctuation as follows
Maka di-dudokkan di-bawah Laksamana karna 'adat Mah.
Lingga dudok di-bawah Laks. Jikalau pada pēmėgian barang
ka-mana sėrta akan bėrbėnti, maka M. L. mēngėnjamkan
sombong Laks. dan Raja Tungkal-lab.....
- 719.** *mēngėnjamkan*: ? *mėngunjamkan* 'make to stick up' and so 'enhance'
- 720.** *sėdia bėrkėlabi*: for the reason given on p.165
- 721.** *sudab mėnantu*: ? intended for *sudab di-ambil akan mėnantu* as e.g. on p.108, l.5
- 721a.** *dapat*: cf. *siapa kamu dapat mėnangkap* on p.75, l.11
- 721b.** *mėmbasoh chunting-ku*: see my Malay Sayings, p.11
- 722.** *di-muka* كيندك : = *di-muka ki-andeka*, see W. under *andeka*
- 723.** *di-ambil-nya* سجيغر : presumably represents *di-ambil-nya sa-cheper*, but we are not told what was on the *cheper* and اسري two lines below cannot be identified
- 724.** *bėrkėpong*: surely *bėrkampong*: see note on *mėngėpong* on p.48
- 725.** *maka* تليغاله :? *tě (r) lenga-lab*, see W. under *lenga*
- 726.** *mėnjėmput*: see note on *di-jėmput* on p.56
- 727.** *kėdapatan kata*: means 'to be shewn up as having failed to do what you said you would do'
- 728.** *baginda murka*: and apparently never forgave him, see p.221, l.37 et sqq.
- 729.** *mata* (—mata): ? 'observer'
- 730.** *Sang Sėtia dėkat* (دكت): ? *dėkat* represents *yang dėkat (sa-kali)*
- 731.** *rampasan*: see note on *rampasan* on p.48. Were they in fact *bamba-bamba pėrėmpuan* being taken to Malacca for such a sale as is described in Hkt. 'Abdullah p.189 et sqq. ?

These notes refer to pages **199—204** of Wins'edt's romanized text: see footnote on page 205 *antea*.

732. *pada bichara-nya*: because the *rampasan* would ordinarily be stowed in the stern of the ship, whereas Tun Krah's ship was *sarat ka-baluan*?

733. *di-kěpongan-nya*: surely *di-kampongan-nya*. See note on *měngěmpong* on p.48

734. *sama-nya bulubalang*: cf. the similar incidents and phrasing on p.142, l.10 and p.224, l.40

735. *sědia sa-běnar-nya*: cf. p.225, l.8, a similar context

735^a. *Orang Kaya ini lagi ada*: for the Paduka Tuan to be present when the Sultan of Indragiri's drum was beaten would be tantamount to his admitting that the Sultan of Indragiri was his master, not the Sultan of Malacca.

736. *běrmusob*: ? = *měngcāp musob*. Cf. the similar *kita akan bērpěrang* on p.132, l.7

737. *měnggěrěnek*: signifies the 'patter' on the drum preliminary to the *palu*?

738. *pěngbulu gajab*: the only mention in the S.M. of this officer, though references to the *panglima gajab* are numerous (e.g. on pp.151, 153 and 176)

739. *měmbawa tanglong*: this was a night attack

740. *gajab pun*: ? *gajab pula*

741. *Jika sědikit. . .*: I read this as follows:—

Jika sědikit bēlalai gajab ini mēnggěrui tinggal rang-nya, bamba tēndang

and I have translated accordingly

742. *Sayid al-Hak*: I am indebted to R.O.W. for the following note:

"Sayid al-Hak = Sayid An-al-hak = 'I am He', a name taken by the famous Sufi martyr Mansur, who was impaled for taking such a lying, blasphemous title by the Kha-lifa Mukhtadir (922 A.D.) at Baghdad. He was learned in the Vedanta and so took the pantheist name."

743. *ěrti-nya*: 'what you think is..'. Cf. *tabu-lcb patek akan ěrti-nya* on p.219, l.16

744. *sa-gagab-nya kutok*: ? 'however much you may curse me'?

744^a. *Sa-akan*: ? *masakan*

745. *ka-rumab-nya*: after this should come the concluding sentence of ch. XXVI (*Satēlab itu. . . ka-Inděragiri*) on p.206

746. *Sultan Ibrahim*: formerly Megat Kudu, brought to Malacca as a captive after the defeat of Siak and married to a daughter of Sultan Mansur, see p.124 et sqq.

746^a. *těrkěnanang*: see note on *měngěnanang* on p.112, l.24

747. *sěn(j)ak*: see note on *gurob* on p.196, l.26

748. *Paduka Tuan* الشيخ: clear, *ipar*, see next paragraph in the text. See note on p.80, l.17

748^a. *pěrdana mēntěri*: read *paraměntěri*

748^b. *janji*: read *chinchin*

748^c. *kita buangkan. . . timbul*: ? a way of expressing his hope, albeit a faint one, that with the assistance of Tun Aria and his men (see l.29 above) he might still recover Malacca from the Portuguese?

These notes refer to pages **204—207** of Winstedt's romanized text: see footnote on page 295 *antea*.

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749. *Sa-tělah itu*.....*Inděragiri*: misplaced in the MS: should come at the end of ch.XXV

750. *Sultan Husain*: we are not told what relation he was to the Maharaja 'diraja of Haru of whom we read at p.145 et sqq.: but it is noticeable that into his mouth (in the passage beginning *jika aku* two lines below) are put very much the same words as were used by the Maharaja 'diraja on p.147, l.11 et sqq., see note on *jikalau aku*.....on p.147

751. *Raja Puteh*: see p.190, l.42

751a. *ka-Hujung Tanab*: see note on p.123, l.23

752. *sětěru*: an allusion to the war between Haru and Malacca on pp.146—7 ? ,

753. *pěbujangan*: see note on *lanchang pěmujangan* on p.59

754. *Sultan Muda*: i.e. Raja Ala'u'd-din, Sultan Mahmud's son by Tun Fatimah, see p.194, l.38

755. *di-kayohkan sakai*: was this merely in order that he should arrive more quickly (see l.36 below) or did he feel as did the Sultan of Pahang whose principal concern, in the incident related on pp. 222—4, seems to have been to get Pateh Ludang's sakai crew for himself?

756. *dua buah pěrabu juga*: i.e. instead of waiting for the assembling of a more pretentious *kělěngkapan* ?

757. *Ada pun*....."*Taroh*": I would read this passage as follows:—

Ada pun.....*banypir Sultan Husain. Apabila orang měnyabong di-balaman balai itu, bunyi sorak-nya, maka Sultan Husain* *měnyabong itu; daripada sangat 'ashik baginda, maka baginda mēngereng kapada Sultan M.S. mēngunjokkan tangan sěraya kata-nya, "Taroh."*

757a. *baginda* مَشْرِغ : ? mēngereng as on p.143 (see note on mēngiring)

757b. مَفْجَعَكُن : ? mēngunjokkan which would signify that he had something in his hand, viz. the money he wanted put on for him

758. *pada*: MS فاه = *paha*?

759. *yang mēnindeb*: ? = *yang těrlēbeh sa-kali*

760. *di-těrima*: ? sc. *jedi mēnantu-nya*

761. *oleh baginda*....*di-kitar-nya*: obscure. I gather that Sultan H. ripped off the sleeve of his jacket, closed the one end of it and then filled the resultant bag with gravel which made a noise like a rattle as he whirled it round his head. I read جَارِق رَك بَيْن as *charek rak ! bunyi-nya* (see W. under *rak*)

761a. *měnyarongkan*: ? *change* the sheath of his creese?

762. *těgari*: ? read *pěgawai*, the suggestion being that indulgence to his daughter in her conduct, which would have been bad enough in a mere *pěgawai* with his comparatively limited powers, was indefensible in a Sultan ?

763. *Ambang*: ? *Embong*

764. *umpat*: MS كَامَفَت which looks like *kě-ěmpat*. See following note

These notes refer to pages **207—209** of Winstedt's romanized text: see footnote on page 205 *antea*.

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764a. دكاستن مكاتنه كاته : none of these three words as they stand can be identified. Is it possible that كاته is an error for لاته and that مكاتنه represents ميقاتنه ('having a fit of *latab*')? The word كاستن seems to suggest some such action as 'plucking at'

765. *bini-nya pergi*: ? sc. *tinggal* before *bini-nya*

766. *měmberi* : ? *měmbawa*

767. *tujoh-bēlas* اڠكس : ? *angkatan*: cf. *bidangan 'minuman pula di-angkat orang Sēri Rama*, p.47

768. *Bagimana pula...bidangan kita*: I read this *Bagaimana pula bēsar-nya bidangan?* Hurup (urup) empat daripada bidangan kita

Hurup (?) *empat*: i.e. 'one of their dishes can be changed (as a dollar is changed' into smaller pieces) into four of ours'?

769. *Sultan Pahang.....akan raja itu.....sēgala raja-raja* The text is evidently defective as (a) it does not give the Sultan of Pahang's name, an omission for which in the case of Malay rulers there is only one parallel in the S.M. (b) *akan raja itu* as it stands is meaningless (c) we are not told who *sēgala raja-raja* were.

770. *di-suratkan akan bērkērja*: apparently means 'a list was to be made of the duties to be performed by the slaves'

771. *Sēri Awadana mēnyuratkan*: Sh. xxxiv, p.231 et sqq. gives a very different story of this incident. See R.O.W., *History of Malaya*, pp. 73—4

772. سند :? *si-Tanda*, short for *Pērtanda*? The Temenggong had to 'carry out executions' (R.O.W., *The Malays*, p.73) and the slave mentioned here was the man who actually performed the execution?

773. ايفك : *epok*, see W. sub *voc.* Cf. p.98, l.39 where *tepak dan kēndi* should read *epok dan kēmēndēlam*

774. كندلم : *kēmēndēlam* 'ewe'

774a. *di-matikan*: ? optative rather than indicative

775. *gorap-nya*: I read this as *gorap (ghurab)-nya di-Tēngkilu, pēnjajap-nya tēlata-lata*. For *gorap* see W. under *ghurab*. *Tēlata-lata* = *mērata-rata*?

775a. *mēnitabkan.....mēnitabkan*: the first *mēnitabkan* is used as noted on p.64, l.24: but the second must be an error for *titab-nya*

776. كل : ? *gul*, i. e. 'our ship is bumping (the river bed)', i.e. 'is aground'?

777. *bērjabat*: MS ترجات ? *tērchabut* 'they pulled up the mooring stakes'

778. *salah titab*: cf. p.192, l.9

779. *Shahid*: see note on p.138

779a. *Sēdia patek-lab*: Sh. *Ya-lab patek mēmbawa.....?* for

These notes refer to pages 209—212 of Winstedt's romanized text: see footnote on page 205 *antea*.

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sĕdia patek-lab here read *sĕdia-lab patek* = 'I am resolved to'

780. *Mahmud*: Tun Mahmud, p. 161, l.9: brother of the Sri Nara 'diraja who is speaking to him here: they were both sons of the Sri Nara 'diraja who was executed on p.187

781. *tiada kuasa*: 'had not the strength' (pace W. 'not of physical strength'): not as on p.164, l.43 *tiada kuasa-lab patek sakalian dudok di-Malaka ini* where *tiada kuasa* has its common colloquial meaning 'have no desire to'

782. *sa-kupang pun tiada*: presumably the gold mentioned at l.28 on p.212 was still with the Bendahara ?

783. *karas*: see note on p.159

784. *di-sambut-nya*: ? *di-sembat-nya*, as on p.109, l.28

785. *mĕnjĕmput*: see note on *di-jĕmput* on p.56

785a. *Tun Mahmud*.....*Sĕlangor*: see p.206, l.6

786. *bapa patek*: Bendahara Lubok Batu, p.188

787. *di-Kampar*: where, according to p.215, l.44, he reigned for five years

788. *Tun Talani*: elsewhere in this text *Tun Tĕlanai*. Evidently a very old title: it appears in an ancient inscription from Siam. When the Bend. Speaks of it in l.15 as *kĕbutan-butan* he probably had in mind the Telanai of Trengganu (p.141, l.22) and also possible the Telanai of Bentan, see note on p.61, l.43. On the other hand there was a Tun Telanai in Malacca, a son of a Bendahara (!), see p.98, l.23; p.118, l.34 and p.159, l.20

789. *Nara*: should be *Sura*, see p.206, l.3

790. *gĕlar mĕntua-nya*: see p.206, l.3

790a. *sĕgĕra*.....*Sĕri Agar*: if to the Malay ear of the time there was a resemblance in sound between *sĕgĕra* and *Sĕri Agar*, was the latter pronounced *Sĕri Agĕra* ?

791. *Raja Pahlawan*: see also p.145, l.39

792. *'adat Haru*.....*ka-atas*: obscure as it stands and the text is suspect. To make sense the passage should run something like this

*jika makan, barang siapa orang bĕsar ka-atas; dan
jika minum, barang siapa bĕrani ka-atas*

and I have translated accordingly

793. *Paduka Tuan*: Tun Isak Berakah, son of the deceased Bendahara Paduka Raja (Tun Pikrama Wira), see note on p.189

793a. *Kala itu*: substitute a comma for the fullstop after *itu*

794. *raja-raja* ملك : see note on *maka anakanda baginda* on p.90

795. *Raja Muda Pĕrĕmpuan*: so the MS, but *Pĕrĕmpuan* is an obvious blunder for *pun*. This Raja Muda was Raja Muzaffar Shah, see p.194, l.29

796. به : ? *nyab*

796a. *Tun Tĕrang*: see p.194, l.30

797. *Enche* لمن : the reference evidently is to Tun Fatimah mother of Sultan Ala'u'd-din and Sultan Mahmud's favourite wife.

These notes refer to pages 212—216 of Winstedt's romanized text: see footnote on page 205 *antea*.

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According to the Perak Salasilah (*JSBRAS*, No. 9, p.96) she was called "Inche' Tan (sic: ? Tun) "

798. *bendak-lab* دفر شكي : ? *bëndak-lab di-përbaiki*, cf. *bëndak-lab ia di-përbaiki*.....on p.57, l.17

798a. *baginda*: ? should read *lalu baginda*

799. *sa-orang Manjong* سيق مي : MS ستومي which may be an error for سيومي corresponding with *Siu-Mia*, the name given in the Perak Salasilah (op. cit). Conversely the سيق مي of the MS may stand for *Siak Mai* (cf. *Tun Mai*), the man in question being of *Siak* origin?

799a. *Sëri Agar Raja*: *Tun Mahmud*: see p.206, l.6 and p.214, l.22

799b. *jěmput ka-Selangor*: 'fetch him from Selangor.' cf. *měnjěput saudara-nya ka-Manjong* on p.79, l.11 and see note on *di-jěmput* on p.56, l.19

800. *Sultan Mahmud Shab*: *Sh. Sultan Mansur Shab*. See note on *Sultan Pabang* on p.210.

801. *bunga ěmas*: "this tribute consists of pure gold and silver worked into the shape of flowers.....sent every three years to the Court of Siam, by the Rajas of Malay States under Siamese influence." (C. and S. 1894)

802. *Běrakělang* : ? a Malay approximation to the *Barcalon* which is how Gervaise in 1688 in his *Natural and Political History of the Kingdom of Siam* (p.33) represents the Siamese *Phra-Khlang*, Minister for Foreign Affairs

803. *Orang Pabang*.....*di-Kělang, datok*: evidently what was intended is

Orang Pabang bėrkirim surat pada Adi Kělang, datok tiada bėrkirim-kab ?

(Cf. *Adi Běrakělang* in l. 24 below) This reading fits in well with the Bendahara's reply to the question

803a. *bunyi-nya*: see note on p.68, l.40

804. *tamběra*: ? from Siamese *tam ra* 'Record of Precedence'. The word appears in *Kedah Laws* (op. cit., p.27) *Těmběra Datok Sëri Paduka Tuan* with the meaning 'Laws' (?)

805. *kěmbali ka-Hujong Tanah*: a description of the founding of the new settlement is given in *Sh. xxxiv*, p.245

806. *anak saudara patek dengan daya patek*: unintelligible as it stands. ? read *anak saudara patek, patek dęngan dia patek* 'the Raja Perempuan is my niece: with her (as she is Raja Perempuan) I (*patek*) am only a *patek*.' For a similar idea cf. p.215, l.1

806a. *nasi dęngan pėriok-nya*: to indicate that the Bendahara of Perak could only be summoned by the Bendahara of Ujong Tanah and not by a mere *orang bėsar* such as *Tun Pėkėrma*: and it was so interpreted by Bendahara Paduka Tuan, see l.36 below.

807. *ia rebab*.....*ka-kanan*: i.e. we'll die together.

808. *kěbëndak*: the MS adds *hati*

809. *ayapan*: see note on *pėrsantapan* on p.177

809a. *Měngapa-tab*: sc. *bėrkata* as in l.3 of p.215?

810. *Pada bichara kila*.....: cf. *jikalau tiada akan patut pada*

These notes refer to pages 216—219 of Winstedt's romanized text: see footnote on page 205 *antea*.

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bichara kita, masakan mau kita on p.215, l.4. The position of the *pada bichara kita* in that instance is better.

811. *jadi-lab*: should read *jadi gab*

812. *erti-nya*: see note on p.204, l.7

812a. *Lēkat bati-nya akan daku*: i.e. he will leave Ujong Tanah and come here to serve me. Cf. the case of Sri Agar Raja, p.218, l.3

813. *mēlintas pada bati*: cf. *jikalau mēlintas pada bati-mu* on p.144, l.44

814. *lain-lain pula*: cf. *bagai-bagai pada* (? *pula*) *Bēndahara* on p.188, l.37

815. *babis nasi*...*juga*: should read *babis nasi di-dalam sireb itu di-bunoh-nya pula lagi, lauk sa-lauk itu juga*: i.e. he took a little more rice but no more *lauk*

816. *Mandalika Kēlang*: the copyist has evidently nodded here, as he writes *Mandalika Kēlang* as مندلیر کلغ, the same spelling as *Mēndaliar* on p.183, l.4 : and I read this as *Mēndaliar Kēling* and thought the reference to be to the revenue the latter would have collected as *Shahbandar*. R.O.W. however emphatically dissents and says that a *Mandulika* of *Klang* is mentioned by Tomé Pires

816a. *Bēndahari-lab* : read *Pēngbulu Bēndahari-lab*

817. *sa-kali*: ? read *sēgala*

818. استي : ? only a variant of استي on p.144, l.27 (see note on *dunia* استي ibid.), and the meaning in both cases is 'this'

819. *Tiada tabu*...*kami*: should read *Tiada tabu akan isti* 'adat daripada sangat...*kami*. The sense of *tiada tabu* here is 'take no account of'; cf. *taida tabu akan jabat-nya* on p.95, l.21. *Isti* 'adat' is written in the MS استعداد

820. *karas Bandan*: see note on p.159

821. ساندل : *sandal* a wedge or any other such thing used to keep a lid or anything similar tightly closed.

821a. *Malaka*: ? *di-Malaka*

822. *pēngluru-nya*.....cf. the description on p.211, l.3

823. *tērmurka*: *MS tērmurka ia*. See p.200, l.27

824. *Mari panab*: the speaker was Hang Nadim (made *Laksamana* on p.194, l.24). For his skill as an archer see p.173, l.1 et sqq.

825. *daban-nya*: MS داهين Is this merely an error for داهين or does it represent *dabian-nya*? A tree undoubtedly has a *dagu* (the bole). Has it also a *dabi* (the upper part of the trunk)?

826. *tunda*: ? *tali tunda*

827. *oleh*...*ka-sungai*: ? *oleh dia rēbah ka-sungai*

828. *buloh karab Sayong, takut*: ? read as *buloh karab, sayang takut*.....(it would be a pity if....)

829. *orang* (سوکل) : the MS has اورغ سوکل Is this *sukal*, which is unknown to the dictionaries, yet another variant of *sakai* which on p.195, l.27 is written سيائي and on p.223, l.12 سبائي

These notes refer to pages 219—223 of Winstedt's romanized text: see footnote on page 205 *antea*.

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829^a. *di-bulu Batu Bēlab*: clearly means 'above Batu Belah' = *di-sa-bēlab bulu Batu Bēlab*

830. *itu-lah maka*: see note on p.82, l.15

830^a. *Rēbat*: Jakuns (but not Malays) remember this name and pointed out the spot to R.O.W., a narrow channel up the Johore River.

831. *tiada-lah*: cf. *kita akan undor dari sini, tiada-lah* on p.212, l.17

832. *Maka sakai pun.....Fēringgi*: I would re-punctuate thus *Maka sakai pun habis tērjun, mēlainkan tinggal Tun Amat 'Ali juga tērdiri sa-orang di-atas pērabu itu. Dalam pada bēdil yang sapērti hujan itu, maka pērabu T.A.A. pun hanyut.....*

832^a. *Dēmikian-lah dēngan sēbut معيات* : obscure. There is an Arabic word معيات meaning 'retinue' which does suit the context to some extent; but why should the speaker have used it instead of its Malay equivalent? From the way the word is written in the MS it might be معيات , ? a copyist's spelling blunder for معصيت (ma'siyat) ? If so, the sentence might mean 'That's what people call a vile deed', i.e. 'There's a vile deed for you'?

833. *abang*: correct if Sultan Muzaffar Shah of Pahang was the son of his predecessor *pace* the *saudara* in l.3

834. *sama*: should be *sama-nya*: cf. the similar incidents and phraseology on pp. 142 and 201—2

835. *Jikalau....tuan-ku*: I would read thus *Jikalau lain rupa-nya orang itu, kēlipkan-lah mata. Beta hingga yang di-pertuan sa-orang jua tuan-ku*

836. *lain rupa-nya*: lit. change their look, i.e. turn dangerous.

837. *ia pēgawai tuan-ku*: Sang Stia was in no sense a *pēgawai* of the Sultan of Pahang: but Pateh Ludang could be so described and surely the word *mēmbunoh* has been omitted by error before *pēgawai* ?

838. *Karna adinda.....jangan dēmikian*: obscure as it stands. To make sense some such word as *sa-patut-nya* is required before *sēgēra tuan-ku turun* and I would read the passage as follows:—

Karna adinda.....mēngantarkan dia, bēnar-kah dēmikian? Lagi, tuan-ku...mēmbawa Sang Sētia, (sa-patut-nya) sēgēra tuan-ku turun...ikat-nya ini. Jikalau tiada tuanku mēnyuroh mēlepaskan, bēnar-kah dēmikian? (Lagi-) lagi-nya jangan dēmikian.

839. *yang bamba itu.....junjong*: the sense appears to be 'the good servant faithfully obeys his master, even if he has to suffer, still more so when the master loads him with favours.' Were the statement in the positive, for *jangan* we should have *baik*: as it is in the negative (*tiada mēlalui*), *jangan* is used.

These notes refer to pages 223—225 of Winstedt's romanized text: see footnote on page 205 *antea*.

ABBREVIATION and REFERENCES

used in the Commentary above

C. & S.	Dictionary of the Malay Language, Clifford and Swettenham, 1894—1902 (letters A—G only, not completed).
Hang Tuah	Hikayat Hang Tuah, Malay Literature Series 3 (1917)
Hkt. 'Abd.	Hikayat 'Abdullah, M.L.S. 4 (1907)
„ Awang Suong	„ Awang Sulong, M.L.S. 5 (1914)
„ R.R.P.	„ Raja-raja Pasai, <i>JSBRAS</i> No. 66
„ Seri Rama	„ Seri Rama, <i>JSBRAS</i> No. 71
Leyden	Malay Annals translated by John Leyden, 1821
M.	Dictionary of the Malayan Language, William Marsden, 1812
Malay Sayings	Malay Sayings, C. C. Brown (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1951)
Pantun Mělayu	Pantun Mělayu collected by Wilkinson and Winstedt (M.P.H., Sigapore, 1914)
P.M.S.	Papers on Malay Subjects (Govt. of the F.M.S., see this journal, 1952, 25 , (1): 194—99).
R.H. Kanun	Risalat Hukum Kanun, ed. van Ronkel, Leden, 1919
Sh.	Sějarah Melayu, ed. W.G. Shellabear, M.L.S. 9 (chh. I—XVII, 1909: chh. XVIII—end, 1930)
R.O.W.	Sir Richard Winstedt, <i>K.B.E., C.M.G., F.B.A., D. Litt. (Oxon)</i> . (History of Malaya, <i>JMBRAS</i> , Vol. 13, (1): The Malays, a cultural history, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1950).
W.	Malay-English Dictionary, R. J. Wilkinson, 1932

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APPENDIX. A.

Pp. 106—7

The Javanese version printed in the Translation is as suggested by W.J.S. Poerwadarminta and Prof Teeuw. My own translation in each case is of the Malay explanation given in the text.

For the following translations of the Javanese I am indebted to Dr. Hooykaas:—

Onya suruh tanggapana penglipur: saben dina katon parandene onang uga

"Voici" sireh: take it by way of consolation: although you see him every day, still you feel the pangs of love

Iwer sang dara kabeḥ, dene Laksamana lumaku-lumaku, penjurit ratu Malayu

All maidens were upset, as Laksamana was wandering to and fro, warrior of the Malay raja

Ayu-ayu anake wong pande wesi: para tan ayua, saben dina den-gurinda !

Of course the daughter of an iron-smith is beautiful: how could she not be pretty, daily being polished more and more !

Kaget wong peken (? pangkon), dene Laksamana tumandang, Laksamana tumandang, penjurit ratu ing seberang

Startled were the people (=women) in the market (? on their husbands' laps) as the Laksamana posed, warrior of the raja across the water

Tututana ! yen ketemu, patenana karo, ketelu jaruman, mara!

Pursue him (the Laksamana) ! When you find him, slay him and his mistress and the matchmaker as the third, come on !

Geger wong pasar dene Laksamana teka, Laksamana penjurit ratu Malaka

Upset were the people (women) at the market as the Laksamana came, the Laksamana warrior of the raja of Malaka

Wis laliya kung, alagi kungku maning; sumbalinga lipur kung, ati saben gelak (balek) kung

Even if I forget my love, still my love comes back to me: even if there were consolation for (my) love, still my heart always turns itself towards love

Geger wong paseban dene Laksamana liwat, Laksamana liwat, penjurit ratu Malaka

Upset were the men in the audience hall because the Laksamana was passing, the Laksamana was passing, warrior of the Malay raja

Den-urui rambut, den-tangisi: rambute milu tan di-remen

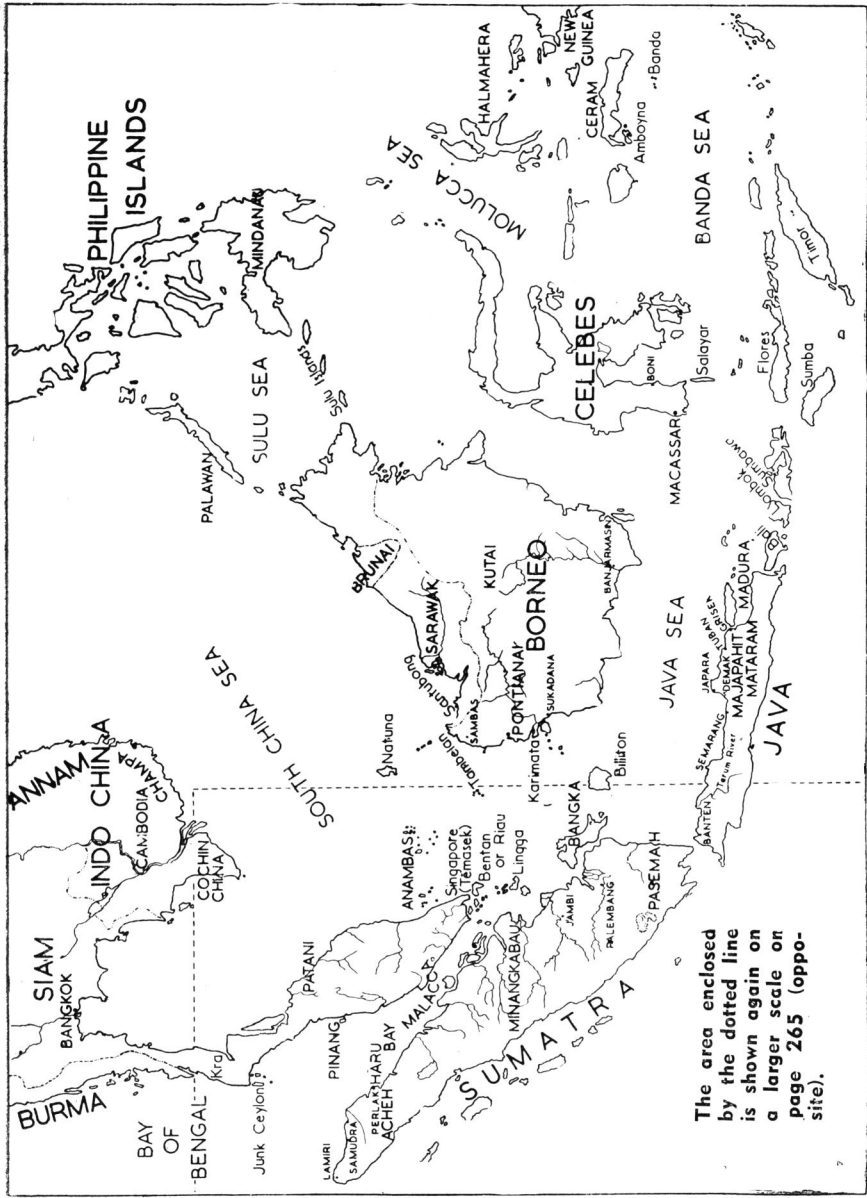
Her hair she put in disorder: she wept for him: Even my hair is no longer liked by him

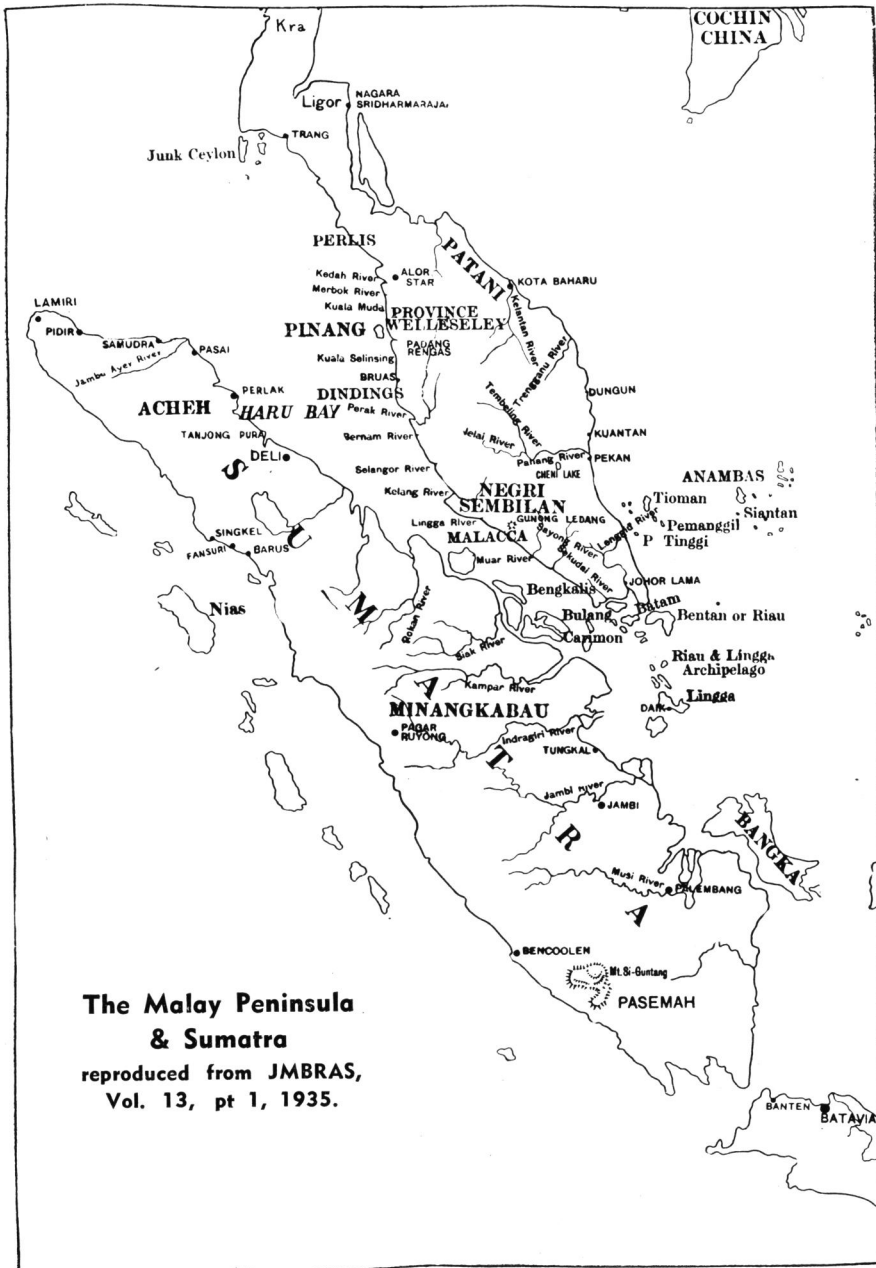
Geger wong ing panggungan dene Sangkaningrat teka

Upset were the people on the stage because Sangkaningrat was passing

APPENDIX B, from Sir Richard Winstedt, not received in time for publication in this Journal. (1:2:53)

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